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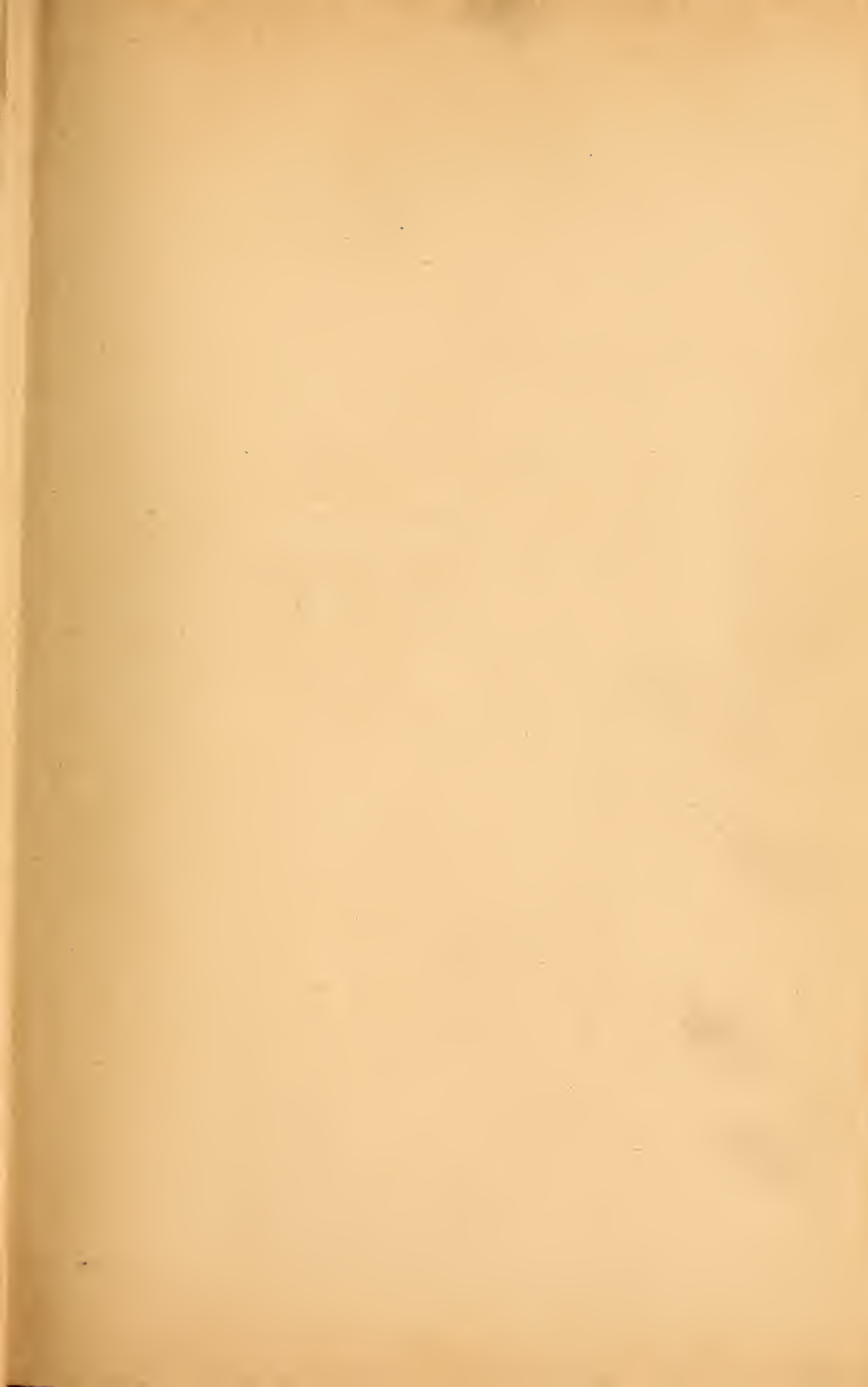
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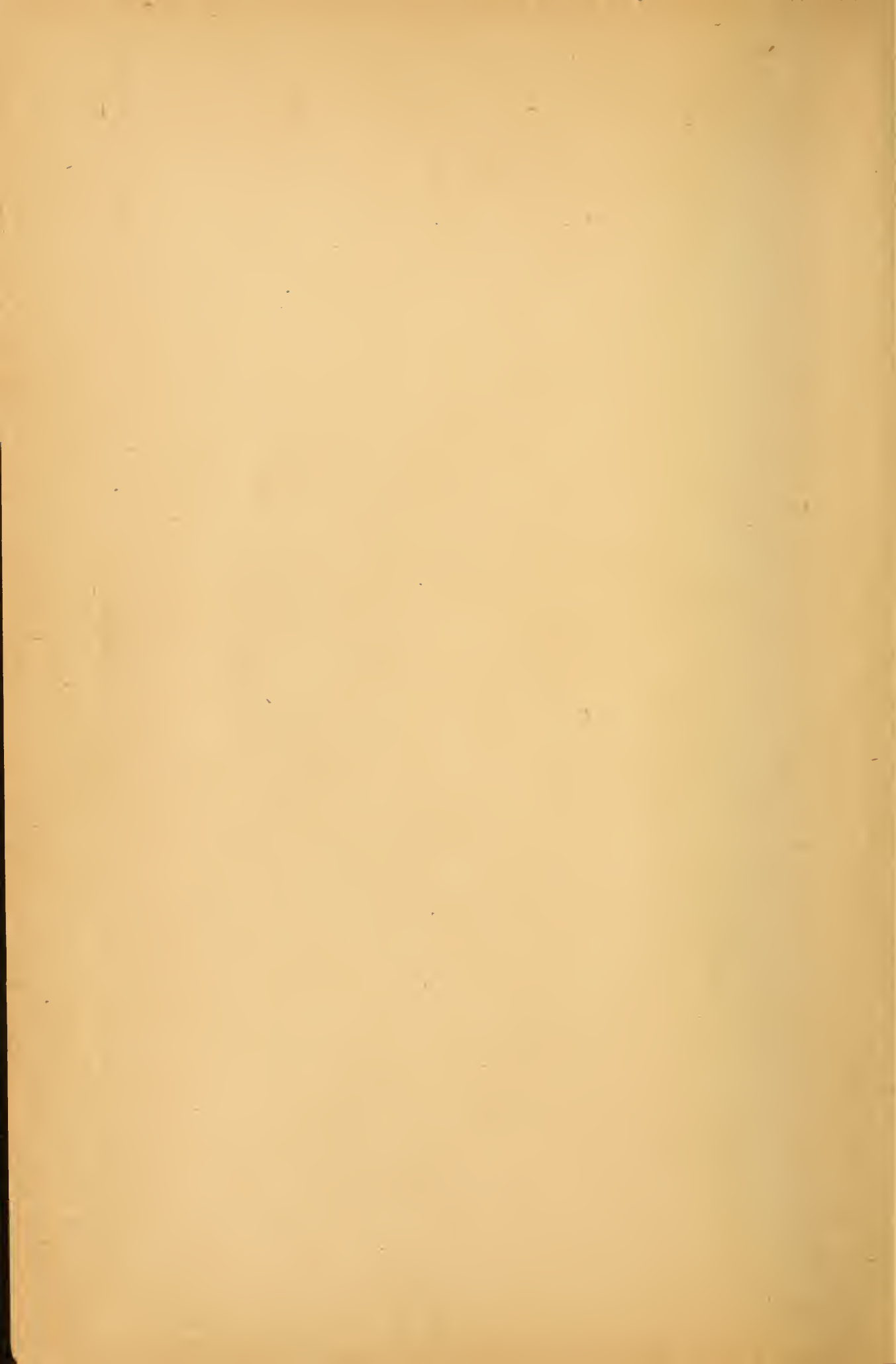
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.





GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICIANS, ANCIENT AND MODERN

BY

✓
CHARLES MARCOTTE

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PREFACE.

The subject "Governments and Politicians" has been, for many years, the chief occupation of my mind. Naturally inclined to its study, I have discussed it, privately, with men of all professions and of all grades of education, a great many of whom have sided with me. But almost all my adversaries, irritated by the impossibility of their refuting my arguments, have retired from the contest saying: "If you don't like this country, why do you live in it?" In fact most of them have had nothing else to say. That was no argument to prove the soundness of a government. The country is one thing, and its government is another.

Nevertheless I could not reasonably attribute my success in such discussions to the superiority of my intellect over all of them; but to both the weakness of their case and to the advantage of my having long lived under a monarchy, as well as in a republic, I justly assign their defeat.

The results of those controversies could but strengthen my opinions, as to the justice of my cause; and considering the ground which I held impregnable, I was ultimately encouraged to make this publication. In assuming an aggressive part against all opposite principles, throughout the world, I am con-

scious that I may have to confront a number of able men, aided by a long experience under more than one form of government. It is those very individuals whom I now take pleasure to invite to public discussions by writing upon the subject of Politics and of all institutions related to it!

I have been advised by intimate friends to publish this work only in monarchies. But, having conceived most of its ideas in the United States of America, and acting in perfect accord with the Constitution of its government, I consider it proper to disregard their advice rather than to go behind the American people, whatever may be to me the consequence of such action. If the work is erroneous, let it be refuted; and if it is irrefutable, it becomes then more applicable to the American Republic than to any other government.

For justifying my claim to public attention, I have no political record to offer, not even that of "office seeker." Yet, however so sensible to the people's indifferentism to a new author or to the rigor of their criticism, I cannot lose the hope of ever gaining their good will; because they are all well enough informed as to the vast difference existing between the professional politician of any class or faction, and the political writer. They know that, as a rule, the former always speaks and acts chiefly with a view to promote his individual interests; and that the latter, especially one who is free from any party affiliation, and independent of the suffrage, even

were he, himself, led by selfish motives, is the more competent to enlighten them upon the condition of their public affairs. Nor should I attempt to exhibit any pretension to modesty by imitating those philosophers, who, to the amusement of their readers, first apologize to them for ignoring a great deal of the subjects they propose to treat upon. It is worse than ridiculous for any one to declare himself educator touching any part he knows but very little of; and to take airs of humbleness or to affect ignorance, is, in most cases, coveting adulation.

I refrain, at the outset, from giving people much expectation, lest they should be, afterwards, exposed to disappointment. I can only assure them that almost all the theories herein contained are strongly supported by the events of forty centuries, against the clamors, the pretenses and the behavior of myriads of Politicians, Ancient and Modern, but principally in our times. That this work may be censured and energetically opposed by a large number of them, can be naturally expected. Should it meet with the approbation of all characters, it would be almost useless. Furthermore, were it not to revolutionize the sentiments of the masses, in some countries, I have sufficient confidence both in my abilities and in the justice of mankind to believe that they will at least, perceive, in this task, a recital of facts interesting to them, and a most earnest endeavor to fairly present to the World all sides of Politics and of governments.

GOVERNMENTS AND POLITICIANS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

EXORDIUM.

Ever since the modern sophists began to agitate our minds with the publications of new and insidious doctrines, their admirers have seemed to impose upon themselves the imperative duty, or have taken pleasure, to assail the character of all sound and beneficial institutions. The republican or democratic press, more particularly, has always aimed at alienating all sovereigns from the loyalty and affection of their subjects, by belittling their importance and running down in all manners the principles and the policies of their respective governments.

Clothing themselves with the mantle of philanthropy, the republicans always affect a deep concern for the welfare of all people and pretend especially to lament for the fate of the laboring classes in monarchies. They attempt to convince them that they are ignorantly bearing a yoke of dreadful oppression, and can never hope to put an end to their multitude of miseries until they shall have emancipated themselves from the monarchical rule. Nor do they cease proclaiming through the world the merits of

democracy, which they represent as the model government, and the only political constitution capable of insuring the felicity of nations.

Their charges against the monarchies of Europe are of the gravest nature; and if they were true, those institutions would, undoubtedly, be the most execrable scourges that could afflict mankind. The fact that the Americans have, for so long a time and without much opposition, praised their own government and censured almost all others, must certainly have led, at least, a great many men to consider all republican theories and republican assertions on both sides of this important subject, well grounded and unanswerable.

Moreover, the knowledge that the English Commonwealth, under the protection of Cromwell, was but of a few years duration; that the French nation failed twice in less than a century in her efforts at founding a permanent republic, while all countries of Europe, except two of them, are still governed by monarchies, is capable of influencing the minds to form an erroneous opinion as to the moral and intellectual development of the European and American peoples respectively.

Why is it, they ask earnestly, that all the nations of Europe can not establish republics, and the Americans, on the other hand, have now existed more than a hundred years under their democracy?

It is very natural for all men attracted alone by outward appearances to think Europeans less com-

petent for a free government than are their transatlantic relatives, and consider republican institutions superior to all others. Nor is it doubted that the rapid and material progress of the great American republic which the working classes of Europe have been taught to attribute to the wisdom of a democratic constitution, has, meanwhile, induced a large number of them to hold the monarchies and the aristocratic classes responsible for their poverty and the comparatively slow growth of their native countries, and suggested to their minds ideas of political reforms, with a view to ameliorate their condition.

Nevertheless, let the socialists, the communists, the nihilists, and the republicans or democrats, throughout the world, who, most assuredly, are not all superficial observers, recall to their mind the facts that some of their countrymen or companions, in seeking relief to their woes in republics, suffer some times terrible disappointments, and even fall victims to the literature of an unscrupulous press. Instead of wasting their precious time and misusing their talents in schemes of political revolutions, if they should, for their common interests, discover and study the differences in the politics of any of the European monarchies and of the American democracy, observe the industrial state and the moral development of their population, respectively, after well considering and weighing all circumstances related to them, their own ideas may be at once revolutionized.

If they should know the true disposition of the majority of those republicans or democrats suddenly raised, by chance, from poverty to opulence, or find out which is the dominating sentiment of their soul, love or hatred of the poor classes, notwithstanding all the expressions of condolence or sympathy for suffering humanity, they might joyfully be reconciled forever to the richer and aristocratic classes of their own countries.

And, should they further inquire which is the more potent factor of a democratic government, in an advanced state of civilization, justice or money, then they might become also the most loyal subjects to the old principles that govern them.

The masses of a people, having practically experienced but one form of government, have no facilities of forming a fair judgment upon the character of any political institution, and a great many of them would continue giving credence to the partial statements of republicans, should they remain deprived of the opportunity of comparing the various systems of politics, not only in their theories, but also in their application, and more particularly in their effects upon the character of men, and in their ultimate results. A fair presentation of principles, ideas, and facts, on both sides of this great question will enable any one to perceive and judge the respective merits and faults of monarchies and republics or democracies, and determine what form of government is the best adapted for nations.

In opposition to the monarchial rule, the republics, in all ages, have proclaimed their great principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. It is observable that in every country, the mere utterance of these words has always greatly attracted the attention or fascinated the minds of the people. In our times, there is in some of the most civilized nations more talk about freedom, more pretensions to equality and liberty than has ever been known in any of the past ages. But it is amazing that in a century of boasted popular enlightenment only a few persons, especially amongst those who make the most frequent use of such words, can define them properly. The statesman and the ordinary citizen, the professional man and the artificer, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak, use or abuse those words more or less; and every one seems to have an opinion of his own make as to their meaning, and always gives them a definition suitable to his own purpose or fancy. This practice is, very frequently, but the outcome of false doctrines, of irreflection, or of mere ignorance.

To be consistent with their own principles, can the republicans, now, in their turn, take offense at hearing the other side's statement against their free institutions? If after censuring monarchs for restricting the liberties of their subjects in speaking and writing about their governments, and, if after promising every individual a boundless freedom of speech under their own constitution, they would, like Cromwell, Robes-

pierre, or other republican tyrants, attempt now at limiting his privileges, except on the condition of his praising democracy and villifying monarchy, they would, by far, surpass the tyranny of any potentate. Even the most despotic monarch always refrains from subjecting his people to such cruel disappointments, because in the beginning he never promises them more liberties than he thinks they ought to enjoy or abuse, and consequently he is always in perfect accord with his own principles whenever he calls any one in the nation to account for violating the rules of his authority.

Therefore, having listened with candor and moderation, for more than a century, to all the slanders and accusations of republicans or democrats against monarchies, the partisans or the adherents to the latter governments, invoking, at the outset, no other principles than those of democracy itself, have a just ground to hope that the same rights and privileges which their political adversaries have enjoyed till the present time, may be cheerfully granted to them, not only in defending their own theories but in denouncing the principles and the doctrines of republics.

There is no paradox more erroneous than the idea expressed in the republican declaration of man's rights, that all men are equal and born free, and must always continue free, and as reasonable beings, they are capable of living together in a free state. Men are not born free, because their nature is not clear from imperfection; and in any condition of life, beside

that of abject slavery, for many years from the time of their birth, they are indebted to others for their own preservation. And it is when they have attained that age of reason, so much relied upon by democratic theorists, that while they can be useful they may become the more dangerous to society. When we consider that man's reason is so limited that he does not remember the day of his birth, nor can foretell the moment of his death, nor can depend upon the carrying out of any of his projects, we must then admit that with all his intellectual powers, he is subject to error and ignorance.

The differences existing between nations as to their physical and moral or mental characteristics are not so much related to their nature, respectively, as to various outer influences. Had it been possible that all peoples of the globe could have been reared, from the beginning, in countries of equal resources and disadvantages, in the same clime, under similar governments, and in the same religion, it is safe to say that they would all be about alike. Yet considered as they are, whatever may be all the various circumstances in which they have been placed, and all the various influences to which they have been subjected, they all agree in regard to the main characteristics of mankind. In all nations the heart of man is susceptible of virtue and vice; almost every individual shows a natural disposition to act from selfish motives; and a great many persons, even those endowed with considerable intellect, will yield to the

empire of their vilest passions. Such is the nature of that human being whom Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, and others, consider capable of acting, speaking, writing and publishing freely, in a community, without any moral school, or without any restraining power but his own will. Those ingenious composers of sophisms could perceive tyranny, hatred, ambition, wars, disasters, poverty, sufferings, and the fall of man or the ruin of human institutions only in monarchies; but an age of justice and fraternal love, of perfect equality, peace, pleasures and incomparable felicity, was, in their contemplative mind to be the real and everlasting state of democracies. And, although they seemed to dread the presence of a few individuals in the government as much as that of the most ferocious and dangerous animals, why they should have given the world assurance that a great multitude of men of all characters could permanently exist together as mildly as lambs, without a strong government, can not be accounted for but in their ambition of working up their fame as propounders of new theories.

The champions of monarchy, on the other hand, since the first political institution has been founded, have always asserted, with reason, that the success of a democracy, especially in a large and populous country, was an impossibility, on account of that state of imperfect morals and inequality among people.

In this respect mankind can fairly be divided in three classes: There are persons in whom virtue is

so predominant that very probably, once knowing the difference between right and wrong, they would always lead a respectable life without laws or government; another class that however so great advantages they may have received, are unmanageable, and always show a disposition to defy even the strongest authority. There is also a large number of those who can act, either justly or unjustly, and whose character is formed by their system of education, and the political institutions that govern them. Nor are all men equal or endowed with the same amount of intellectual powers; and in every community, there is a conflict of opinions, ideas, interests, and a constant struggle between vice and virtue.

Yet, the monarchists, like the republicans, acknowledge that society is an association of individuals to preserve the natural rights of men; that supreme power emanates from the nation; that any individual, or any body of men trusted with political authority are but the representatives of the people; that individual liberty is any man's power of doing what he will, provided he does not injure another; that man's natural rights only terminate at that point where the rights of others commence, and that this dividing line is established by law, and law can forbid only such actions as are detrimental or dangerous to society. But they condemn the system by which the republicans or democrats attempt to carry those individual and popular rights. It is to insure their preservation that the science of politics has been instituted;

and of all forms of government, that which can best accomplish those results is, indisputably, the most worthy of ruling nations.

But political knowledge, in practice, is frequently confounded with demagogism, which, under the former name, is but a policy of trickery and imposture followed by corrupt or unscrupulous men, generally of republican or democratic pretensions, in leading mobs or in deceiving the people.

The administering of justice is the most essential function of a government; and a political institution deficient in this part, is worse than worthless, because it can only cause the ruin of the nation which it pretends to protect. The great majority of fair minded people are much more concerned in their prosperity than in the mere existence of the government itself. Were it possible for them to exist and preserve their rights without politics, without kings or presidents, or public officials, or laws or penalties they would, no doubt, dispense with all of them. But, as the institution of a government becomes an absolute necessity, a few men must be intrusted with its care; nor does this mean that rights and liberties of men must consist in their chances of securing public positions. Every government official is a public servant, and his office is supposed to have no other object but the performance of certain imperative duties to the people. He must receive a fair compensation for his services, but it does not follow that governments are made to furnish the masses with appointments,

money, or a livelihood. A people can not subsist on politics or state offices, and must find their means of support in various careers, while they all have equal claims to protection, in legitimate pursuits of life. Let all men bear this in mind, and they will be open to reason and conviction, who are free from prejudices.

The true interests of the people demand that their officials and all individuals be bound together by reciprocal duties. If the former must be true to their trusts, the latter must respect their representatives, not only because honor compels them to do so, but to lead by their examples, all those who are naturally mischievous, to fear the established authority, and obey the law of the nation. The people's reverence for their rulers or officials goes far to insure a régime of justice and order, but disrespect to them is conducive to serious trouble.

In order to refute the assertions of republicans against their political opponents, and illustrate both the good and the evil that governments have produced, it will be deemed necessary, to refer briefly to the various systems of politics, and then bring into comparison the principal nations that have existed since the remotest age of antiquity till the present time.

Moreover, it is declared at the outset that, in all attempts at proving any charges against republics, ancient or modern, no monarchical evidence shall be invoked, nor shall any argument be drawn from any source but from the actions and utterances of republicans themselves.

Although it must be admitted that no government perfect in all particulars could ever be founded, it is the chief design to demonstrate, in the clearest manner, and to the satisfaction of all well disposed persons, that monarchy, of whatever form, is far better adapted than any republic to the government of all nations.

Religions, materialism, and systems of education have, at all times, exerted so much influence upon the destinies of men and civil governments, that they shall have to be considered in this work. However, there is no disposition to discuss any religious matters, or recommend any particular faith, especially as to Christianity. It is merely intended to point out their effects on the social and moral state of men, and their relations to the degree of power or weakness in political institutions.

Republicans and democrats, in any country or of whatever nationality, are prayed not to take offense at any attacks or charges made against their favorite system of politics and of education. Not only is it acknowledged that all people came out of the creation about alike in nature, but it is repeated here that no great or populous nation on earth can ever carry on a democratic government successfully in a high state of civilization. Consequently, let it be well understood, at the outset, that any statement, or assertion, or proof, which may, in some particular case, seem intended for a certain nationality, shall be meant for all the nations of the world, if they were for a long

period of time, subjected to a like system. The same profound respect and good will are extended to all nationalities; and all republicans and democrats can remain assured, that although their political principles shall be earnestly and vigorously scrutinized, justice shall be rendered to their virtues, to their genius, to their noble deeds, and to their sincere endeavors. If it shall be shown that some republican statesmen have excelled the most absolute monarchs in despotism and depravity, on the other hand, democratic philanthropists shall be exalted to the rank of the most virtuous sovereigns.

MONARCHIAL PRINCIPLES.

In boasting of their free institutions existing by the will of the people, the republicans always assert or endeavor to impress the mind with the idea that, under all forms of government but their own, nations are subjected by the force of arms to the rule of despotism. They affirm that, in any monarchy the masses of the people are down-trodden under the burden of heavy taxation for supporting large armies only intended to uphold the thrones; that the monarchical rule is entirely opposed to the development of industry and commerce and to the intellectual and moral improvement of man. They moreover say that republicans have no use for standing armies, favor equality of fortunes or social condition among the peo-

ple, promote the interests of the working classes, and mete out justice with impartiality to all men alike. Those allegations are refuted by the history of the principal nations of the world, both ancient and modern.

All monarchies, even ancient Egypt, the most absolute Oriental Potentates, such as both of the Assyrian empires, those of Media and Persia, not excepting that of China which now has lasted more than three thousand years, were established and have existed by the sovereign will of their people respectively, nor could they have ever stood upon any other basis.

The republicans are either very easily deluded by appearances or intently mischievous in stating whenever a party of a few individuals in a monarchy clamor against its power that the sovereign is, meanwhile, resisting the will of the people. In all ages there have been in republics as well as in monarchies a class of men always disposed to find fault, or revolt, without cause, against the established authority; and not only absolute monarchs, but presidents of democracies have fallen under the daggers of their countrymen.

It is astonishingly ridiculous or very unjust that republicans impute to monarchies alone the use of arms to uphold their authority, as the might of the sword has always been the safeguard of all nations alike.

The absolute monarchy is that in which the sovereign governs according to his will. Evidently this

form of government supposes in the nature of the prince a great deal of character, eminent virtues, and a vast amount of wisdom. However, the absolute monarch is always assisted by a council of ministers or advisers, in adopting a policy and in enacting laws consistent with the true interests of the people. In the limited monarchy, the sovereign rules according to established laws.

The constitutional monarchy, in the most popular sense, is that in which the ministers composing the government, except the Chief Magistrate of the nation, are elected by the suffrage of the people, as well as all legislators in the popular assembly. It may fairly be defined: a medium or a compromise measure between absolutism and democracy. Under this constitution, the people come nearer making their own laws than under any other form of government.

All monarchies adapt themselves to the nature of man whose vices and virtues, noble and mean sentiments, they take into consideration. Although under the Constitutional monarchy all public men are supposed to be endowed with blameless character, they are far from being clothed with as much authority as they are in the absolute government; nor are they trusted in the management of public affairs or in the manipulation of the people's treasure to the same extent as in democracies. This government depends principally on its competency to enact popular and salutary laws in the absence of any living absolute authority; and while it allows the people all the free-

dom of a respectable republic, it leaves no ground for apprehension that it will ever culminate into despotism or degenerate into dangerous license. Both the nation and the sovereign are placed under one ruling power, and law is the power that rules. The Chief Magistrate, like any subject, finds himself in the impossibility of assuming more authority than is allowed him by the Constitution, and confined within the limits of his political prerogative he can never become a despot, nor even exercise the least arbitrary power conflicting with the laws.

It is often said by republicans that, if a monarch's political power is so limited that he can do no wrong he is, from the same cause, incapable of producing any good, and being, in consequence of his inabilities, a needless member of the government, he should not hold any office. The idea of heredity is also ridiculed on the ground that it may, sometimes, place a person of mediocrity, or of inferiority, or a child, at the head of the nation. They are devoid of all political sense, who express such opinions, for not perceiving the true spirit of a principle which has been adhered to from time immemorial, with the most beneficial results, by the greatest nations of the world. No wise thinkers can believe that such enlightened nations as those of Europe would have useless figure heads or would submit their destinies to mediocrity, or to idiocy, or to the occupant of a cradle, if, in the first place, the law of succession should not provide them with adequate means of guarding themselves against

any defects or disabilities of their Chief Magistrate.

The will of all fair-minded men, in any country, is that for their own safety they should have the best government, whatever its form, its principles, or its ways may be. And it is observable that the prevailing sentiment of all opponents to monarchies, in all ages, is not the love of their country, but their mere jealousies of sovereigns. With all their boundless ambition for authority, and their cupidity for money and luxuries, they look with eyes of envy, with airs of covetous grief, at the permanent exaltation of one man to power, and at the pay he receives.

Yet, the worst enemies of republics are to be found among those who abhor monarchy. Their liking of a free government rests on their knowledge that this constitution furnishes them the best chances for self-aggrandizement, and their hatred for monarchy, on their assurance that this power guards the people against the encroachments of their public officials, and is always prompt to execute the laws against criminals. That state of feeling which animates a vast number of pretended republicans or democrats, illustrates the genius of the monarchical principle, which, while it lavishly bestows favors upon one man and his family, renders him the more interested in the welfare of the nation. Society is far more concerned in its own preservation than in any individual's chances of securing the first magistracy or any other office.

The greatest interests of a monarch are so inti-

mately related to those of his people that his greatness or his fame entirely depends on their prosperity. Enjoying all the honors, and having at his disposal all which the most exacting individual can reasonably hope for, it becomes natural for him to do all in his power to promote the happiness of his subjects, if in no case, he is actuated by other motives than his personal ambition. Monarchy is wisdom itself. The principle of vesting the executive authority in one man, and of rendering him inamovable in his life time, is calculated to protect the people against the passions of mankind, and produces salutary results that can hardly be estimated. Not only it defeats the hope of all selfish aspirants to the first magistracy, but it relieves the nation from that dangerous strife of myriads of unscrupulous politicians for offices, which always follows the election of the president in a democracy. In diverting their attention from a constant struggle for political power or position, it upsets the designs of all mischievous schemers, and makes them bow to the dignity of the nation. In impelling them to seek other fields than the government to build up their individual fortunes, it directs all men's strenuous efforts for self-aggrandizement towards the greatness of the nation. Besides, free from all prejudices, jealousies or envy, independent of all political factions or any individual, having no favors to solicit or to reciprocate, the prince never finds any barrier to his administering justice.

While the sovereign in a constitutional monarchy

can do no wrong, he renders his country the greatest service that can be expected by any people from their magistrates, that of carrying out their will, which is the most difficult task of a government.

There is nothing more certain than that a monarch, ranks, as to politics, among the most incorruptible men. It would be impossible for him to perform a single act of meanness against his subjects for any kind of a bribe; because, although he may be naturally greedy or otherwise vicious, or may not always be moved by a scrupulous sense of duty or any sincere affection for his people, no reward of any value could ever equal, in his estimation, the price of his crown or the sovereignty of the nation, over whose destinies he presides, so long as he is conscious, at least, of his inamovability from the throne.

The high tribute in money which he receives is one of the wisest provisions of monarchy. Possessed of means equal to the exalted dignity of his office, he never intends to intrigue for more, and commands the respect of both his people and of foreign nations far better than he could, were his income more limited. The monarchy, notwithstanding its apparent splendor, is the most economical of all governments.

Very little knowledge of the world's politics suffices to show that kings are quite worthy of a comparison with presidents of republics, as to intellectual powers and state-craft. The suffrage of the masses, generally fails to place in power the wisest men in the nation. It can not be controverted that the intense feeling of

rivalry and of personal ambition existing among the ablest statesmen, in republics, incites them to defeat one another's hopes for promotion, and often results in bringing up a man of mediocrity to the highest dignity of the nation; although the president of a commonwealth requires more ability than the sovereign of a limited monarchy.

Those that laugh at the baby-kings shall have many opportunities to observe that, by virtue of the principle of succession, he exerts a far greater influence on the administering of state affairs than the wisest republican statesman, or president.

With regard to the king's social attitude towards individuals, it can not be reasonably expected that he could judiciously, as the chief magistrate of the nation, associate himself with every one in the country. Should he be placed on terms of intimacy or social equality even only with the most respectable persons, he would still be more censured, because his partial conduct would the more wound the feelings of all characters that would be debarred from his company, nor would he be very long fit to administer public affairs with ease and impartiality. It is evident that although all men are equal before the law, public policy demands that a line be drawn between the Chief Magistrate and the masses of the people.

The monarchists always fill the state offices by appointments, knowing that better selections can be made by a few men of knowledge, than by the majority of a community, especially in a large and

populous country. The government officials, finding themselves provided with sufficient means of support for life on good behavior are encouraged to act honorably for retaining their positions, and their increasing experience can not but render their services more valuable to their country than those of new men.

Led by such wise ideas, the monarchists, though considering the nation as the source of all political power, place their affairs in the hands of a few individuals; and the masses wilfully debar themselves from an access to state offices, by entering into the vast field of industry, of trades and professions, which help to the building up of a powerful nation.

It is easily seen, too, that cases of malfeasance in public life, if any, must necessarily be of rare occurrence, because, if not always actuated by sentiments of honor, the people's servants have too much to fear, too much to lose, and not enough to gain, to venture at departing from the path of equity. But, should accidentally any one of them ever become criminally mischievous in his official conduct, he could not do much wrong, as, in the first place it would be impossible for him very long to escape from the vigilance of the supreme authority, and he would soon be impeached, or removed from office, without recourse to an election. Then no attempts at whitewashing or letting him off easy, would have much chance of success. Neither his titles, his rank in society however so high it may be, nor the influence of his great wealth, could save him from the stern process of justice.

A monarchy does not claim a title to the competency of entirely eradicating vices from society; on the contrary, it recognizes in human nature the impossibility of its ever becoming perfect. It goes still further in this direction; it asserts that no government in any state could be so constituted as to succeed in preventing the commission of even the most heinous crimes that can be thought of. But with all the wisdom of its organization it claims for itself the ability of dealing with the worst characteristics of mankind in the most rational way. It purports with positive assurance and active determination to check the growth and the influence of evils, to protect the just and the weak against the unjust, as extensively and effectively as can possibly be expected of human institutions. By its constant vigilance, and incessant work in counteracting the dangerous effects which vices can produce, it is most instrumental to fill the souls of the wicked with fear and terror, and inspire the masses of the people with respect and unbounded confidence in its ability to protect them.

REPUBLICANISM.

In a republic the entire nation or a portion of it is invested with the political authority. The word "republic" is derived from the Latin "respublica" which means "the public thing," or "public interests."

The constitution under which the people in a body

are supposed to retain and exercise the sovereign power is democratic in form; such were the commonwealths, of Athens and Rome in the ancient times, of France in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and such is now the great American republic. "Democracy" comes from the two Greek words, "demos-kratos" meaning "the government by the people." Its principles aim at placing all men on the same social and political grade and making the people or every man "sovereign and subject" at the same time. Under this form of government suffrage is the method most generally employed to elevate men to public offices; and these offices are accessible to all citizens who can be elected, for they are all supposed to be honest and intelligent alike.

The political institution, under which only one portion of the people governs is called "Oligarchy" or "Aristocracy," as were Sparta, Carthage and Venice. "Aristocracy" also comes from the Greek "aristos-kratos," which means the "government by the best citizens." As implied by this definition, the aristocratic republic, like monarchy, recognizes in men an admixture of virtue and vice, and asserts in some individuals their superiority over others as to integrity of character and intelligence and thereby prefers choice appointments to the use of the ballot for filling most of the political positions.

This constitution relies, in a great measure, on the strength of a judiciary power; but democracy depends, almost entirely on civic virtue, which princi-

pally constitutes the competence of men for a free government, although some virtue is necessary in the former, and some legislation in the latter.

As the political power in any country gains strength in becoming centralized, so does it become weaker according to its degree of extension among the people and consequently virtue is expected to produce, in the one case, the same results that are intended by the laws in the other.

It is claimed by all democrats that not alone on the accessibility of state offices to all citizens, but also on the frequency of elections and changes in the personnel of the government can all true patriots base their hopes of serving their country, and preserve their institutions. According to these principles, the people, and more particularly their public officials, not only are expected to conduct themselves with the strictest integrity, but they must be animated with ardent zeal for the welfare of the commonwealth.

It is easily perceived at once, that if nothing could ever come out of political contests but the rise of patriots to prominence, and if public good were always the chief object of all statesmen's or politicians' emulation, national enthusiasm or public spirit would be so highly aroused and become so permanent, as to render men capable of achieving glorious deeds for the nation, insure the stability of the republic, and prove its superiority over all other forms of government.

It is urgent, then, that the system of education,

principally in a democratical republic, be adapted to subdue selfishness, the ruling sentiment of mankind, and inspire men with pure patriotism by cultivating in their souls disinterestedness, moderation and justice. Consequently, whenever any one declares himself a republican or a democrat, if he really understands the literal meaning of his utterances, he pretends to have at heart the interests of all his countrymen, and asserts a most excellent behavior in all things, independently of strong laws or severe penalties. If led by political aspirations, he accepts or announces his candidacy for a public trust, he thereby boasts of a great purity of character and freedom from all selfish motives regarding the position he wishes to occupy; and moreover, he is supposed to be endowed with a moral force sufficient to resist all mischievous temptations, as dangerous opportunities may, from time to time, present themselves to him while intrusted with the direction of public affairs or the care of the people's treasures.

But, unless his ideas or his public acts correspond with his professions of civic virtue, he is not qualified for a free government. Notwithstanding all his pretenses, he is, at best, indifferent to the good of the nation, and is interested in the government only as far as drawing pay from it is concerned; or he favors a free constitution simply because under its rule, he can be far more trusted, has far greater opportunities of gratifying his personal ambition in carrying out his dishonest designs, and sees far better chances of

enjoying impunity, than under any other form of government.

It is therefore evident that, when in a republic the people can no longer rely on the honesty or the disinterestedness of their public servants, their interests must be placed in a most serious jeopardy. Such is the danger of the situation that their institutions offer them no adequate substitute for the lack of patriotism. It is idle to attempt at reforming a corrupt democracy. Let republicans or democrats say whether they are capable or incapable of a free government; in the former case, reforms are needless, because civic virtue is the rule of their representatives; and in the latter case they are impracticable, because the very nature of the political constitution is now the main source of its triumphal vices, and it is impossible to regenerate a people through the same principle that has brought their demoralization.

Nevertheless demagogues always pretend, and respectable statesmen or politicians sometimes endeavor, to purify the state of politics, but the greater or more apparent their zeal in that direction, the more does the evil grow, generally, no matter how prosperous may the commonwealth appear in the eyes of the people. They may still succeed in enacting some salutary laws and even correct a few abuses; but never are such performances productive of any real advantage. As a medical remedy, which seems to cure a body, by blotting out its external sores, fails to remove the root of the disease, so may schemes

of reform in a democracy, subdue vices in a few particular cases, but they can not eradicate them from its political systems, nor keep them from cropping out again with renewed vigor or continuing to spread with increasing rapidity.

A virtuous democracy has no occasion for much legislation or any great amount of litigation; nor are laws or severe written penalties of much avail, when corruption has once made its appearance among the citizens. Nevertheless it is observable in every republic that the principal function of any party government, besides rewarding its supporters with patronage or lucrative appointments, is the enacting of new laws, which, like the old ones, are, never, or, at any rate, not half way carried out. A commonwealth of this kind swarms with office seekers entirely opposed to the principles of true democracy, and with statesmen eager but to show their intellectual powers, to promote their own interests or those of certain rings, through legislation. Under this régime, long and useless judicial trials, both civil and criminal, are far more carried into practice than any thing else except other political and social vices. The better class of citizens in lamenting over such state of public morals, denounce their public officials in the most vigorous terms of villipendency. The public speakers and other popular educators, who, personally, are the most interested parties in the permanency of a wreckless government, to attempt at proving the stability of their free institutions, flatter the people by referring

to their adaptability for democracy, to their sense of duty, and to their loyalty to the established authority. But, meanwhile they unconsciously exhibit their lack of confidence in their political principles, by recommending a strict enforcement of the laws, and exhorting all citizens to make a more frequent and better use of the ballot box in the future than in the past, by electing honest men as their representatives. Were it possible that laws could be strictly or justly executed, no one would have to urge their enforcement; and if the people were competent for a democratic constitution, one man would be just as good as the other, at least, with regard to honesty. All their speeches are about similar in tone and abound with the sonorous utterances of "equality, freedom and liberty, man's rights, this glorious republic," and the like; but, equally remarkable by their lack of sound advice, or good sense.

While the people find themselves almost constantly involved in a state of turmoil about primary meetings, convention meetings, ratification meetings, elections, inaugurals of new legislators or magistrates, and appointments of officials, suggesting new ideas, and discussing new plans of reforms, the state of political and social affairs keeps growing gradually worse, and litigation is being rapidly promoted for the benefit of certain privileged classes, but the course of justice is the more obstructed. In fewer words, it is all election and law, but very little justice.

Nor have the people any just ground to complain

of the difficulties that confront them, or find fault with any of their public servants for neglecting their duties or abusing their trusts. While they admit that the office is for the public good, they ought to know that, practically, it is too often for the politician's private good.

It is folly for any one to believe that the masses of public officials will devote many years of their life to politics for the sake of the commonwealth rather than for their individual interests, especially in an age and in a country of rapid material progress. Having to derive their living or their wealth from their official positions, they must gain their popularity in the fondness of pleasing all characters, instead of punishing or proposing to punish any of the criminals. Again, if those professional politicians, have, in their electoral campaign, spent large sums of money, sometimes amounting to more than their official fees, can it be said that they all are so patriotic, or so wealthy, or so honest that they will not reimburse themselves, by receiving bribes, or otherwise defeating the ends of justice? Besides, the votes of malefactors are equal to those of the best citizens; and it is known that the latter will not hold any officials to account for not strictly enforcing the criminal laws, but that all the criminals in the land will unite their efforts to defeat at the polls all politicians who dare to mete them out justice for the protection of society; and that difference of feelings among the people goes far to create that relaxation of the judicial function of a republic, and principally of a democracy.

Now, if we bear in mind that the democrat is both sovereign and subject, how can we reasonably hope that the sovereign shall always punish the subject for injuring another?

When, in any country, every citizen is supposed to be competent for a free government, the people have no more right to expect redress from their constitution against criminals than to think that any of them after the commission of his deed, shall accuse himself, traduce himself before the tribunal of justice, condemn himself and inflict upon himself his due penalty by entering into prison or voluntarily ascending the scaffold and launching himself into eternity.

In time of moral decadence, every political party claims a superiority of intellect or of public spirit over all others, and assign to them all the woes of the republic. However, of all factions, that holding the power, which, for the sake of the commowwealth ought to be the purest, is generally the most infected by corruption. By the free and unscrupulous use of the public treasury, by the money contributions of favored capitalists, trust companies, corrupt rings and public officials, through partial or unjust legislation, and by their adopting a fraudulent or equivocal policy, local, national, or foreign, they may, for a long time yet, retain the reins of the government. Their opponents, in their loud clamoring against the conduct of public affairs, will seem to champion the people's interests so long as they will remain in the opposition. If they once arrive to power, they may still, at the outset of

their administration, announce a policy of reforms, exhibit the most honest intentions and the most scrupulous care in all things; but the time may soon come when they shall prove as corrupt at least as their predecessors have been.

In the struggle of parties the men who use politics but for their own aggrandizement, if not always in larger number, are much more ambitious and crafty, much more active, and generally much more successful, than those who cherish the welfare of the nation. The man of honor, rather than adopting such methods as are employed by the unscrupulous or dishonest politician, to insure his success, will suffer a defeat or entirely abstain from the political field. Besides, he may be characterized by a great many, as unfit for the public service, an obstructionist to progress, an old foggy, a mean opponent to the prosperity of wide-awake citizens. Thus is the true statesman, or the earnest and courageous defender of popular rights, often supplanted by the demagogue, in a political contest. But, now, let it be supposed that, from time to time, a dishonest individual be removed from office, this same coveted position may still be filled by another as bad, at least, if not worse than his predecessor. The principle which, once, has promoted a rogue is apt, in a like manner, to substitute another rogue in his place. How frequently does it occur that men elected for their supposed sterling merit turn out, at last, public plunderers? Yet knowing all this the people continue holding elections for the purpose

of securing honest officials. As a great many find themselves betrayed by those whom they have trusted, so do others willingly cast their votes for a corrupt, rather than an honest man.

Under all such circumstances, it can be fairly asserted that the nation's affairs are managed principally for the benefit of professional politicians of any party in power.

The founders of the commonwealth had judged all men by the standard of their own honesty and patriotism; but now a vast multitude of individuals judge others according to their own principles of injustice. In the earlier times of the republic, the general welfare of the country was the main object of all men's ambition, but now it is the coveted prey of active politicians. At this stage of political contagion, they clamor louder than ever before for rights and liberties, but recognize no duties, no restraint whatever. A boundless license is known by the name of freedom, and the enforcement of laws by that of oppressive tyranny; loyalty or respect to the established authority is called submission to Cæsarism or despotism, and disrespect or the privilege of insulting magistrates, enfranchisement. The busiest institutions of the country are the courts of law, but there is but little protection for the people. An honest man is often called a fool, and a dishonest individual whose schemes are successful is said to be endowed with great intellectual powers. If one is conscientious, they say he is too honest, and if not strictly scrupulous

in all things, he is considered the worst rogue among the living. A crime is no crime until it becomes known by the masses, that seem to make one's guilt consist but in his lack of cunning to escape detection. A criminal is disgraced, not by the commission of his awful deed, but by the punishment inflicted upon him; and the worst miscreant can recover his liberty and retain his honor if he has enough money at his disposal to buy a few democratic officials or sovereigns.

These are, as yet, but the symptoms of republican or democratic demoralization. But what can be more amazing than that some people should proclaim democracies as wonderful achievements of wisdom and virtue and cite them as model governments, when they surpass by far all others on earth for injustice, daring frauds, bold robberies, perjury, murders, illegal capital punishments, and all acts of desperation or depravity. Such is the spectacle presented by a people of sovereigns without crowns, of subjects without a sovereign or a protector, of slaves without a master. Hardly anything exhibits more inconsistencies, more contradictions, more monstrosities than corrupt democracies, when their practices are brought into parallel with their fundamental principles.

The truth of the matter is, the enactment of laws is the easiest, and their enforcement, the most difficult task, which any government has to perform, and a constitution democratical in form is unequal to this task, because founded upon civic virtue, it is not

specially designed to deal against vices, and consequently it lacks the power required to protect society and those rights of men so much talked of by republicans and democrats throughout the world.

Any corrupt republic, new or old, great or small, rich or poor, is a failure, and the mere fact that it has become corrupt makes it a failure. It is worse than a failure, or a body without soul, it is the greatest affliction which a nation can possibly suffer. The possibility of its constitution remaining democratical, in such a state, without incessant upheavals, can not be attributed to the competency of the people for a free government, may they be so proud, and so boastful of their intelligence, of their education, and of their material prosperity; as they can show no title to that glorious distinction, when true patriotism has once ceased to be the dominating sentiment of their public men.

Moreover, the spirit of boundless liberality, in republics, which tolerates or favors the diffusion of ideas or doctrines conflicting with moral principles never fails to develop in people those vices that are most opposed to the principles of true democracy, and consequently always results in rearing an unwieldy community. Whosoever has acquired a false knowledge wanders more from the truth, and is less capable of governing himself than he who has never attended any school, and resembles an edifice, which, defective in construction, must be repaired for public safety.

It would be unnatural and hardly possible for the

masses of a nation, devoid of learning, to uphold by their suffrages, a system of government subjecting them to a régime of abuses and iniquities. Their common sense alone, enabling them to pass a fair judgment on the general aspect of public affairs, would, no doubt, lead them to reject with indignation, or, at least, oppose, in the most energetic manner any political institution of a like character. But when a people claiming a superiority of intellect over all others and boasting of an incomparable diffusion of education in their country, submit cheerfully to the dictates of corrupt parties, yield to the rapacious greediness of their public officials, keep up in idleness a vast crowd of so-called patriots and of office seekers, and recognize with pride, in the function of their complex political organization, a state of boundless license, roguery and lawlessness under the bombastic names of "equality, freedom and liberty," they have already sunk themselves, to say the least, below the level of a merely ignorant population. This illustrates, in the most unequivocal manner, the deplorable state of apathy and blindness which any naturally bright people can be reduced to by paradoxical principles of government coupled with a defective system of education.

It has been at all times an axiom of political science, accepted by fair-minded republicans and monarchists alike, that if civic virtue should not be the inflexible rule of public men in a democracy, the people would suffer under its constitution, more

abuses and more tyranny than under any other government. There is nothing truer than that proposition; for what more infamous régime could people endure than that which places them constantly at the mercy of myriads of political wolves? What royal despot can be compared for ingratitude, hypocrisy, and malice, with that democrat, who, having reached a public office on the pretense of ardent love for his country, of an irresistible passion for serving the interests of the people, uses his trust to aggrandize himself, and even to plunder them?

Evidently, the political and social state of a republican nation can not be regenerated unless the constitution of its government shall be first radically changed or entirely remodeled.

Their ability of preserving their form of government, for the present time, is shameful rather than creditable to them, and is consequently attributable to other causes than intelligence and education. The same vices that have corrupted a large portion of the people render them the more devoted to their monstrous system of politics, as, being completely demoralized by its influences, they are incapacitated for the exercise of any respectable profession.

The better classes, impressed with the false idea that no other form of government could afford them more adequate means of protection than the free and frequent use of the ballot, or simply concerned in their private affairs, although they are not all blind to the increasing difficulties that threaten the repub-

lic, still continue to praise rather than condemn the cause that produces them. They may foresee and even foretell what the terrible results will be, but they are not inclined to make any exertion to avert them, and console themselves with the thought that, should any catastrophe ever arise from their state of politics, it is yet so far off that they shall not live to witness it.

When, in a commonwealth, every individual regards his private interests dearer than those of his country, her government cares nothing for her destiny or her next generation. What can be said of those republicans or materialists who find their felicity in a state of licentiousness, and, while depending on death for their deliverance from its approaching calamities, impassibly contemplate in the future, that fatal moment, at which their descendants, many of whom miraculously escaped before their birth from the sacrilegious attempts of their luxurious mothers, shall succumb victims to their false principles?

Of two republics the one which lies peaceably and apparently contented in a state of corruption and absorbed in profound admiration of her genius and of her glory, offers the world a spectacle far more gloomy and far more scandalous than the other that rises as a storm against a like régime, and whose momentary convulsions are the nearest to her emancipation and her restoration to a reign of justice and order. If people are to be congratulated for resisting the oppressive rule of one or of a few men,

how much more praise would they deserve for endeavoring to emerge from fetid stagnation and liberate themselves from the hands of a constantly rising multitude of tyrants?

One need not be Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel to predict the woes reserved to a commonwealth of this character. No results can be anticipated from the future course of events, but a steady growth of pressing difficulties, soon or late followed by incessant disorders; nor could the people ever save themselves from incalculable calamities unless they would acquire enough wisdom to know that their free and effete constitution has become the principal cause of their woes and unite their efforts in substituting a stronger and more rational government in its place. To judge from human nature, it is possible, but unfortunately there is but little hope that such revolution could always be effected by concerted action or moderate measures. In these times, the greatest danger threatening society, is, not the fall of the republic or the rise of a dictator, which demagogues, anarchists, ignorant or narrow-minded men may apprehend, but the probability, and it may be said, the certainty of their continuing, for any indefinite period, to suffer the intolerable caprices of their public servants, and the wickedness of all the criminals in the land. At a certain stage of their national growth, the people may be roused from their old lethargy by momentous exigencies of personal safety, and attempt to revolutionize their political state, perhaps clinging mean-

time to the first principle of their old government, which they may still blindly cherish. But this movement could only be the beginning of their most serious troubles, finding it impossible to secure a power capable of protecting them against lawlessness until their worn constitution shall have been dissolved or have run out of existence through a long reign of bloody upheavals or civil wars. The history of democracies prove all these assertions, in the most irrefutable manner.

ANARCHISM.

Anarchism is often considered as a state in which there is no government of any form whatsoever, a reign of extreme confusion and destruction, although such condition has never existed in any country, excepting perhaps some newly discovered places or others that never had had any legally organized institutions. However so distracted or so demoralized the politics of a nation may be, if once it had a government, the people are never afterwards left without a power of some kind at the head of their public affairs.

But there are a great many men, who, pretending to be most practical in all things, but still so intensely materialistic as to be blind to all moral causes, can not recognize anarchy but in its most excessive results. Can we never perceive anarchy without civil wars,

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without incessant riots or bloody upheavals, without bombshells or dynamite, or other like means of destruction, without blood running in the streets, or without the sight of human bodies hung at street corners, at the lamp-posts, at the chimnies and over windows or entrances of buildings?

It can not be denied that the cause which brings to a nation such terrible calamities, must have made its appearance long before the time of their occurrence. This cause may fairly be termed moral anarchy, or principle of anarchy, and commences to exist when men are permitted to insult their magistrates or public officials; when the government can not inspire the people with respect for its authority. Anarchy is increasing, when the execution of the laws becomes generally relaxed, and vices and crimes are growing. Anarchy is prevailing and assumes alarming proportions, when the established authority is publicly and boldly defied, when the sacred rights of men are openly violated and trampled upon by individuals or factions arrogating to themselves the legal power. Such is the state of a corrupt republic.

THE DEMAGOGUE.

Any individual is but an atom in a nation; and almost every honest man is apt to disregard his patriotic duties, rather than his private interests, thinking no one in his country dearer to him than himself.

His wishes for the public welfare are good and sincere, but he sees but little in store for him in making sacrifices for it. While most of the best men stand in such state of indifference towards the Commonwealth, the demagogue is wide-awake to his own aggrandizement judging from his own utterances: "Why should I sacrifice or even only neglect my own welfare for thousands or millions of others? How could so many people's interests be conspicuously served by one individual? It is evident that none of them would feel the effect of my services; my disinterestedness and my exertions, thus disposed of, like the vote cast for the unsuccessful candidate, would be wasted away. Yet, suppose that the masses would derive some good from my public acts, why should I care for the people when every one of them cares but for himself. But now see the difference: how much good could the nation do me without feeling the sacrifice in the least degree? Still it would be a great relief to this dearest part of the Commonwealth. If I do not work my own salvation who or what is going to save me, when it is known that from the usual course of events in all republics arose this maxim: 'Take care of number One.' Our government is a democracy which means 'the government by the people.' It opens its magistracies to all men alike. A great many have derived power and wealth from our free institutions. I am one of the people, and why should I not become powerful and rich too, like other republicans or democrats?"

ANCIENT EGYPT.

The most authentic source of information at our disposal shows that the Egyptians were the most renowned among the nations of antiquity for political wisdom, although no past experience could have furnished them with any such valuable knowledge.

In their primitive state they vested in their priests the direction of civil affairs, at no time giving them absolute authority; and subsequently led by more liberal ideas, they made monarchy elective. But, afterwards, as the population was growing, they found that popular elections were creating in the nation a spirit of dangerous rivalry, and apprehending serious trouble from the struggle of factions for power, they rendered the crown hereditary and conferred upon their kings more authority than the priests had possessed in the earlier times, although their power was still limited. Far from abusing their political privileges those rulers subjected themselves to more rigid laws and regulations than their subjects, whom they permitted to prescribe for them their mode of living and the distribution of their time.

The unity of God was the fundamental principle of the Egyptians' religion; and they believed in the immortality of the soul and in a future state of punishment and reward. A king had to be strictly religious. In their opinion, the mere preservation of man's life and property could not be the only object of civil governments. They believed that, as the nature of man was far superior to that of the brute,

and his soul had a destiny beyond the end of this life, morality should be the first principle of all political institutions. For this reason, religious doctrines were recognized paramount to all other teachings, and their influence was considered indispensable to render a government solid and capable of managing the masses, and protecting society. The priests, having relinquished the reins of the government, became second in order to the kings. Being the best educated, and wisest advisers as to the general good of the population, they were intrusted with the care of public morals and of all branches of learning.

The inflexible execution of the laws was justly deemed as the first duty of rulers and the most necessary function of the government for the prosperity of the nation. The king was the chief justice of the country; and a great many judges, mostly priests, were appointed by him, to preside over the law courts. Satisfied with a plain statement of facts they were opposed to the insidious resources of eloquence being employed, and in all judicial cases pleadings were presented to the courts in writing.

Premeditated murder, perjury and sacrilegious theft were punished by death.

The incorruptibility of Egyptian judges became proverbial among the nations of antiquity. As in no monarchies are the judges elected by the people, so are they not depending on political contests, nor obligated to any party for their positions. Having no favors to ask or reciprocate, entertaining no fears

from the opposition or cabal of political adversaries, they are free to dispense justice to all classes alike without hesitation, or delay, or partiality. The relaxation of justice which is always immediately followed by the decay of public morals, never fails to promote litigation; but, from all accounts it can be said that at all times there was but little legal strife carried on among the ancient Egyptians.

He, who has acquired the mean habit of running down the living, will be very apt to praise the dead, principally because he can no longer fear of being serviceable to them by bestowing upon their character his soft terms of adulation. Liberality and candor are easy virtues, when they are practiced but in words, and are not rivaled by envy or jealousies. In order to induce every individual to live moderately and act honestly none but deserving persons were allowed to be eulogized after their death. The kings themselves were no exceptions to this rule. Adulation can do much more good to the living than to the dead.

Idleness was considered so dangerous to the peace and safety of the nation, that no man was permitted to live in such condition; every one was obliged to show his means of support, and become useful to the state by embracing some trade or profession. All trades or professions of utility were respected and patronized; but no one was allowed to practice more than one branch at one time, and every individual had to practice that of his father. By this system each man was acquiring all the experience and attain-

ing the highest degree of perfection in his own specialty, that could be hoped for. Thus, he was taught to be satisfied with his position in life, and was the more apt to retain his earnings by refraining from the practice of some trade which he had never learned, or from dangerous speculations. The laws regulating the professions of medicine and surgery, show how much the monarchy cared for the rights of every individual. The physicians and surgeons were obliged to acquire all the knowledge furnished by the professional career, and the experience of later practitioners. Their blunders causing death to any persons were punished with death. In both of these sciences the Egyptians equalled the Greeks and the Romans of the succeeding ages.

It is impossible to deny that their legislation, though excellent in many respects, was very imperfect in some cases; the marriage between brother and sister, the parent's right of life or death over their children, and polygamy, were in vogue. But these defects or others of a like character, so common to all ancient nations existed also in the republics of later times; and it was reserved for Christianity to liberate the fairest portion of mankind from all such monstrosities.

The wisdom of monarchy in preserving the masses of the nation from the bitter strifes of professional politics united them in the strongest bonds of loyalty to the government. The respect which they showed to their civil magistrates as well as to their spiritual advisers raised the standard of decorum and good

manners, and promoted the ends of justice and order by inspiring men of mischievous disposition with awe for the established authority and the fear of its punishments. The education of the children taught them modesty, discretion, obedience, and veneration for their parents and old age. These teachings and customs, which prevail in all monarchies, are but little observable in any advanced democracy.

Gratitude, disinterestedness, and moderation although not strictly required by their form of government, were among the virtues most highly esteemed by the Egyptians; and as they are also flourishing in modern monarchies, they must necessarily be assigned to the influence of their rule upon the character of the people, while those same virtues which are essential to the success and the stability of a free government are always replaced or upset by the opposite vices in any grown democracy.

Husbandmen, shepherds, artists, merchants and mechanics composed the classes of society that ranked below the orders of priests and warriors. The two former elements were especially honored by the people, who justly considered agriculture and the breeding of cattle as the basis of a nation's great wealth; and Egypt grew extremely rich with these two branches of industry. It is often said that the masses in ancient nations were subsisting on herbs and roots; that is an error. For thousands of years, the Jews, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans and other nations lived on fish and the same kinds of meat

and crops as the modern nations. The country derived its greatest wealth from the wheat and corn, which in succeeding ages became the principal resource of Rome and Constantinople.

Sciences and arts were most liberally encouraged by the government and the priests. All nations of antiquity that followed the Egyptians were indebted to them for geometry, chemistry, hydraulics and the zodiac. Architecture was the first of the liberal arts. Their monuments and even the ruins of their public edifices, which command in our times the admiration of the most skilled artists, and the sculpture and paintings that adorn them show the degree of perfection which they attained in fine arts. The inscriptions on their monuments representing the trophies of their conquests and other national events, having assisted in transmitting to posterity their history, exhibit the richness of their literature.

Their great mechanical ingenuity is observed in the mode of construction and in the use of materials in their structures; and the tempering of the tools which they used for cutting the hardest rocks gives us proof of their advanced knowledge in metallurgy.

Their manufactures of linens, pottery and other like articles were excellent, and the best of ancient times. Their glass, furniture, arms and metal vessels were worthy of the Greek's attention.

Although the Egyptians were not a warlike nation, the military profession was considered by them as an absolute necessity; and a large and well trained army

was kept in constant pay and always in readiness, to insure the security of the country against the designs of foreign nations. Egypt could boast of renowned warriors and has made great conquests; but it excelled principally in furnishing mankind with the first elements of civilization and even of polite learning, a most munificent gift of monarchy. It is in Egypt that Pythagoras, Lycurgus, Solon, Plato and a large number of other Greeks, completed their studies in all branches of learning.

The rulers of Egypt, with a single exception, in manifesting their unbounded zeal for the welfare of the country, illustrated the identity of their personal interests with those of their subjects. Mesraim, the first Egyptian king, founded Memphis, which he rendered very materially prosperous, and directed the attention of the population to the culture of fine arts. Busiris, to insure the safety of his people fortified and surrounded Thebes with a high rampart of great strength. The population of this city, which, under his reign, amounted to not less than a million inhabitants were enabled by the wisdom of their sovereign to hold possession of Upper Egypt in repelling the invasion of the Phœnicians and Arabs. From this time the entire country was submitted to the laws of Thebes. Egypt acquired its first library, owing to the liberal spirit of Osymandias, whose name became afterwards celebrated for erecting several magnificent palaces, and encouraging sculpture and painting. Uchoreus, having no less concern for the

security of his subjects than Busiris had exhibited for Thebes, built around Memphis a wall capable of protecting them against the attacks of foreign legions.

In what republic can we find as great a benefactor of mankind as King Mœris, who caused to be dug that immense lake, known by his name? This excavation was used as a reservoir for water, to correct the irregularities of the inundations from the Nile, in order to protect the population of Egypt against both famine and devastation. In addition to this lake, canals had been cut in all directions to irrigate the high, as well as the low, lands, by means of spiral pumps, driven by oxen. When the flood was too low, and famine was feared, the right volume of water was allowed to run into the river and through the canals spread over the lands; but if the inundation was so high as to cause alarm the superfluous part of the water over a sufficient quantity to insure the crops was conveyed into the lake. By means of this wonderful work of engineering, property and lives were secure against inundations, and abundant crops were insured every year.

Sesostris, having conceived the project of aggrandizing Egypt, started to conquer nations. Aided by the loyalty of his subjects, whose affection he had won by his justice and benevolence he had been enabled to raise an army of more than six hundred thousand men, renowned for their discipline, their fidelity and courage. In a few years he submitted Colchide, Scythia and Ethiopia, and afterwards

returned to his states with thousands of chariots laden with the spoils of his conquests. Upon his arrival he recommended that his officers and his soldiers be so munificently rewarded as to pass the remaining days of their existence in ease and comfort. But denying himself all calm and repose, he occupied the remainder of his life in erecting a considerable number of temples and monuments, the construction of which promoted to a high degree the condition of the laboring classes. Moreover, he employed the captives brought from his conquered possessions in building up mounds of ground, in all parts of Egypt, and cities on top of them as refuges of safety for men and beasts in times of high floods. He connected the Nile with many canals dug through the land, to increase the facilities of trade, and protect the country against the removal of the enemy's cavalry incursions. He fortified the eastern coast for twenty miles in length, and also increased the fertility of the soil by the addition of irrigating canals.

The successors of Sesostris continued to govern Egypt on his line of policy, and erected a large number of monuments, among which the three great pyramids. Sethon liberated the country which had been devastated by Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by destroying his army in front of Jerusalem. Since the times of Mesraim, twenty kings had existed, reigning for the prosperity of their subjects over a period of twelve hundred years. After the death of Thoroca, Sethon's successor, the Egyptians, unable to agree with regard

to the succession, were, for two years, in a state of anarchy. At last the kingdom was divided among twelve lords, who built that famous labyrinth composed of twelve great palaces similar in dimension and design; each of them having a subterranean story intended as a vault for the body of one of the kings. One of these sovereigns was taken down from the throne by his own subjects, because his state had been partly overrun by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. On the death of Psammenitus, all Egypt was submitted to the authority of Cambyses, king of Persia, and subsequently to Greece, till the death of Alexander the Great. At that time, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, established a new monarchy which continued to exist to the reign of Cleopatra, a period of about three hundred years. Then, the country was conquered by Octavius and became a Roman province. Since that time Egypt passed, in succession, to the Saracens, the Turks, the Mamelucks and Ottomans, and for many centuries past, has been one of those important points of strategy on which centered the diplomatic policies of the greatest nations of Europe, on account of its offering the world an easy and short sea passage between Europe and India. For this reason her government has been weak, and her resources have been neglected.

It is said that in the times of her ancient civilization, her population amounted to seven million inhabitants.

SYRIA.

Syria is situated North of Palestine, between the Euphrates river and the Mediterranean basin. It was settled in the fifteenth century by Egyptian and Babylonian colonies. Afterwards the Aramæans occupied the principal towns of the country. It was divided in many small kingdoms, of which Damascus was the most important.

The Syrians, resting in perfect security under their monarchical government, first devoted all their attention to the culture of the soil.

At Damascus centered, for a long time, the commerce and the principal affairs of Asia. This city was connected with the three portions of the ancient world, by three routes leading respectively to Tyre in Phœnicia, to Egypt, and to Persepolis, Ecbatan, Babylon and Palmyra. The caravan trade which was carried extensively on these roads, and also the manufacturing interests, made her one of the most prosperous cities in the world. Various branches of industry were promoted to a high degree of perfection.

The art of writing originated in Syria and was introduced elsewhere by the Arabs.

Syria became an Assyrian province 736 B. C.

PHCÆNICIA.

Phœnicia was located west of Syria on the coast of the Mediterranean sea, occupying a portion of that land

now known as Palestine. It contained a great many cities, among which Tyre and Sidon were the principal ones. Phœnicia was ruled by a monarchial government, and every one of its important towns was a separate kingdom.

Although the citizens gave their kings possession of their respective territory, and permitted them to enjoy a life of splendor, they limited their power, especially with regard to all decisions on war or peace with foreign nations. It is an error of modern times that all ancient monarchies were despotic or entirely absolute. The Phœnicians, debarring themselves from the profession of politics, resolved to take the best advantage of their position, and develop their natural resources. Their laudable endeavors were crowned with tremendous success, for they excelled all other peoples of antiquity for inventions, industry and commerce.

Although it is doubted that they were the inventors of glass, embroidery and purple dyeing, it is certain that they perfected those arts, invented goods for wearing apparels, and various other articles of necessity and luxury.

Their skill in navigation, which has never been equalled by any nations till the modern times, enabled them to open commercial communications with Greece, and Italy, while they carried their trades as far east as the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

Not only did they export the immense products of their own manufacture, but they also disposed of

those of other monarchies. To promote their interests, both in exportations and importations, they established bureaus of exchanges at many points, which, a short time after, became rich and populous colonies. It is the Phœnicians that taught the people of the Mediterranean sea the first lessons in all the industrial branches known in their age, also arithmetic and the use of weight and measure which they had learned from the Babylonians. In 527 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar took Tyre, and subjected Phœnicia to the Assyrian empire. The god of both the Syrians and Phœnicians was Baal, and their goddess, Astarte.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.

These two kingdoms combined formed one of the greatest and most powerful empires in the world. In early times it occupied all the land situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers, but subsequently the kings extended the limits of their dominions as far west as the Mediterranean basin, and in all other directions.

Notwithstanding all the obscure and conflicting records of history, it seems incontestable that this country was settled, and its monarchies founded, as early as the twenty-third if not even the twenty-sixth century before the Christian era. The names of Nimrod, Semiramis, Assur and Ninus are mentioned as those of the founders of both governments.

It is said that some of the sovereigns, whatever they might have been, having resolved to immortalize their names, conceived the design of excelling all their predecessors and successors in Asia by the magnitude of their enterprises, and the magnificence of their achievements.

In building up and rendering both Babylon and Nineveh the mightiest and the richest of all cities that ever existed till the founding of the Roman empire, they attained the height of their ambition, while promoting the welfare of their people. Those high ramparts of extreme thickness and girding sixty miles, those high and colossal towers and those massive gates of brass insured the security of a large population in each of those cities against foreign aggression.

The cutting of canals and the building of banks on both sides of the Euphrates protected the city of Babylon from inundations, and served, at the same time, to fertilize the soil. In addition to all these gigantic works, the quays, and the bridges built of stone and so constructed as to overcome the difficulties and dangers offered by the sandy bottom of the river, and also those immense hanging gardens, parks and broad avenues, indicate the engineering skill and the cultivated taste of the people. Nor any of the ancient nations but the Greeks surpassed them in sciences and arts.

The temple of Belus and all their other public edifices, and city houses of three or four stories in

height were remarkable for their architectural beauty, and the perfection of other arts related to building.

They obtained a wonderful success in all their manufacturing schemes. They are said to have been the first people versed in the arts of spinning gold thread and of embodying it in other stuffs; of carving, painting, and gilding on wood, metals and stone; of casting gold, silver, and iron figures of men and animals, or any other objects. They excelled also in purple dyeing, and in dyeing of silks and other goods, in the making of pottery, embroidery, goods for wearing apparels, furniture and other household goods.

Their merchants became very wealthy in carrying on an active and extensive commerce through their navigable rivers. It is the Assyrians that made the first essays in medicine; physic had its origin in Babylon. To the Babylonians is the world indebted for the science of astronomy, and it is through their astronomic observations that the true extent of the solar year was fixed. Like the Syrians and the Phœnicians the Assyrians worshiped all kinds of idols, and even their sovereigns. Their principal god was Bel, and Venus their goddess was known under the name of Ish-tar or Mylitta. During the period of certain festivities at Babylon, women were allowed to prostitute themselves publicly, and were even impelled by their religion to use the temple of their goddess as a resort of the most infamous debauchery.

It is almost incredible that a people so far advanced in art, industry and commerce, could have conceived such monstrous ideas as to morality.

Sardanapalus was the last king of the Semiramis dynasty. Arbaces, the governor of Media, revolted against his authority, and by vanquishing him put an end to the first Assyrian empire, 759 B. C.

The empire was then divided in three states; Nineveh, Babylon and Media. Babylon became a republic; but the rage of civil dissensions that immediately followed the establishment of this form of government, incited the people to return to monarchy without much delay. Nabonassar, son of Belis chief of the defunct commonwealth was raised to the throne, and his crown made hereditary.

Although some of the Assyrian kings were very corrupt, despotic and worthless, the people reasonably considered themselves still more secure under their rule than at the mercy of an unwieldy multitude.

However, the great majority of the kings have been excellent princes.

In the beginning of the sixth century B. C. Nabopolassar, allied with Cyaxares, attacked Sarac successor of Nebuchadnezzar I., and destroyed Nineveh; and assisted by his own son Nebuchadnezzar, he subdued the Egyptians, the Jews and the Syrians. It was at this time that Jerusalem was taken and a large portion of its inhabitants were brought as captives to Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar II. became one of the greatest kings of the Babylonian empire and the master of Chaldea, Palestine and Arabia. He was succeeded by inferior men. His grandson was dethroned by

the people on account of his disorderly life, and his crown was transferred to his son Belshazzar, who was not much better than him. It is under the latter reign that Cyrus, in conjunction with his uncle Cyaxares, took Babylon and subjected it to Media 538 B. C. Both the Assyrian and Babylonian empires had lasted at least 1800 years.

MEDIA AND PERSIA.

Arbaces, the governor of Media, in revolting against Sardanapalus and overthrowing the first Assyrian empire, won the independence of his country.

After this, it is very interesting to notice the Medes attempting to establish a free government. For a short period they seemed to be prosperous. But unfortunately, licentiousness, under the appellation of liberty, soon brought to the people a state of anarchy more dangerous and more intolerable than the worst royal despotism they had ever before experienced. Dissensions, frauds, larceny and murder prevailed in the land. The people saw the danger of their situation and resolved to put an end to disorders. After deliberating on this momentous question of public security, they attributed their woes to the freedom of their institutions, and concluded that monarchy was the only government capable of restoring justice and order in the country, and promoting their prosperity; and this political revolution was peaceably accomplished.

Dejoces was exalted at once to the royal dignity, as a reward for his moral conduct and his principles of justice. Never afterwards had the Medes any occasion to regret their changes; for, besides Dejoces, all his successors, Phraordes, Cyaxares, Astyages, Cyaxares II. and Cyrus were among the most excellent kings of both ancient and modern times.

After the death of his uncle Cyaxares and of his father Cambyses, Cyrus consolidated the kingdoms of Media and Persia, which, combined with the conquest of Babylonia, formed, at that time, the greatest empire in the world.

In the first year of his reign Cyrus permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem, after seventy years captivity. He administered the affairs of the country with the most consummate wisdom. In order to watch with more vigilance over his states, he successively occupied the capitals of Assyria, Persia and Media, which were the cities of Babylon, Suse and Ectaban, respectively.

His two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis, who succeeded him, lived but a short time. An impostor represented by the magi, as the latter son of Cyrus ascended the throne; but he was soon removed by an association of seven Persian Lords, 521 B. C. Having overthrown the magician party, these Lords, representing the people, deliberated sometime, on the form of government suitable to Persia, and declared monarchy the best adapted to the government of any nation. Darius was then raised to the throne and

his promotion was sanctioned by the consent of the population. It is him who first carried on war against Greece. In his reign the empire reached the summit of its glory; nor has ever existed in antiquity a monarch more celebrated in wisdom and benevolence than Darius; and almost all his successors have endeavored to emulate his spirit, by manifesting their zeal for the interests of the people.

Notwithstanding the regal authority in Persia was so absolute that the kings had a right upon the life of their subjects, their power was, in a measure, limited by a council of advisers established by the people to assist them in administering state affairs. This council consisted of seven Lords who were first the same individuals that founded the monarchy. The Persian kings lived in the most magnificent style; and their Seraglios, like those of the rulers of Turkey and Oriental nations in our times, were occupied by the most beautiful women.

The Satraps, who were governors of provinces lived in a splendor comparable to that of the kings. From the times of Darius, they numbered only twenty, and exercised a power almost unlimited, which after creating dissensions throughout the country, became one of the chief causes of Persian decadence.

The most reliable historians of antiquity report that the Persians recognized but one God as the Supreme Being; that, while they seem to adore the fire, the water, the earth, the sun and the stars, they

were only worshipping the Creator of those elements. However the people were led astray by their magi or priests, who, like those of Assyria, were professors of that so-called science of judicial astrology, which, they pretended, made them so wise or so clairvoyant that they could foretell events and know the destinies of men.

THE GREEK REPUBLICS.

It is in Greece that the first republics, properly so-called, were founded. Sparta and Athens were, in the ancient times, the two most powerful commonwealths of that portion of Europe, and attained their political supremacy respectively in Peloponnesus and in the central division of the country.

SPARTA.

In the earlier times, the Dorians, who had settled in Sparta proclaimed Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of their old chief, kings of their city; and the successive families of these princes continued to reign by the will of the citizens for nine centuries. Those who had established themselves in Laconia, enjoyed, for a time, the same rights as their countrymen of Sparta; but afterwards the latter destroyed this line of equality, deprived the former of their

citizenship, compelled them to enter into the military service, and pay a tribute to their city. The inhabitants of Helos, who revolted against this tyranny, were vanquished and reduced to a most degraded state of slavery. The infliction of unrelenting and most cruel despotism upon them was the work of none but the people, themselves, by whose consent both kings were sitting on their throne.

From that time the nation was divided in three castes; the Spartans, who remained in the city and exercised the sovereign power; the Lacedæmonians, their subjects, who inhabited the rural districts and performed the military service, and the Helots, who were tilling the lands of their masters. The first caste numbered forty thousand; the second, one hundred and fifty thousand; and that of the slaves was more numerous than the other two combined.

The new constitution which the Spartans received from Lycurgus was designed to rear a race of brave and vigorous men, and of ardent patriots. This legislator, intending first to place all men on a footing of brotherly equality succeeded to establish among them a régime of communism in which all the lands were equally divided between the Spartans and the Lacedæmonians. Perceiving the evil influences which money had exercised upon the morals of the people, he destroyed its hold on them by substituting iron for gold coins as a commercial exchange, without however altering the relative value of the two metals. Then, they found the load of legal money equivalent

in value to the smallest gold coin, too voluminous and too heavy to carry about their person or to handle with pleasure or convenience. Their mode of life was also regulated by legislation; all dwellings and household goods were to be of the same style and same value, nor any luxury could be introduced into the community. All the people and even the kings were obliged to be present at repasts, which were invariably taken in common. These measures greatly contributed to check in their nature such vices as envy, jealousy, avarice and dangerous ambition, in rendering them far more disinterested and far more public spirited than they had been in the past.

This régime of equality was possible in a small country of a scanty population, and at a time when material interests were few and people were engaged only in the professions of agriculture and war; but it proved impossible in a large population, or in a high state of civilization in any age, and especially in modern times.

It is seen that the constitution of Sparta was representative of the main characteristics of all forms of government. It was royal, democratic, aristocratic, as to the Spartans and the Lacedæmonians, and only most despotic with regard to the Helots.

All family feelings were subordinate to patriotism; for as soon as a child was born, it ceased to belong to its parents to become the property of the state. All well formed and healthy children, when old enough, were subjected to a most rigid discipline of

hardship, and those affected by deformities, or feeble condition, were put to death. The education of boys consisted only in the most useful knowledge, and in learning and reciting some verses of Homer's poems to become inspired by warlike enthusiasm; gymnasium, racing, boxing and wrestling were their main exercise. They were trained to be discreet, respectful to all and especially to old age, to listen to those older than themselves, rather than to talk; to be modest after having achieved success in any thing, and courageous and patient in pain, sorrows and adversity. One of the principal rules of their discipline was their strictest obedience to those under whose command they were placed. At last, they were taught never to praise themselves under any circumstances, nor aspire to independence or freedom but after performing all their duties and fulfilling all their obligations.

Why should not the modern republicans or democrats find in this ancient code of laws a subject for deep reflection? Under that constitution the population became bound together by the strongest ties of affection, and animated by one sentiment, the love of the country. The laws were strictly obeyed or enforced during more than five centuries; and it is only long after political corruption became rooted in all the republics of Greece that the power of Sparta commenced to decline; and this state of endurance was owing mainly to the inamovability of her chief magistrates from the throne.

Lycurgus had visited the principal places of Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt; he had the most admiration for the government of Minos, king of Crete, which was partly monarchial and partly democratic. It is very significant that after all his travels through foreign countries, and having acquired a great political knowledge he deemed it prudent and wise not to remove the kings from the government of Sparta. But he established a senate, the members of which were to be not less than sixty years of age, and elected by the people for their life time; also an assembly of deputies elected but for a short period, and whose prerogative was to sanction or reject the laws proposed by the kings or the senate. Afterwards five other magistrates were appointed, called 'Ephori,' and entrusted with a power about analogous to that of the Roman tribunes. The Lacedæmonians had the right to send delegates to the popular assembly for the only purpose of deliberating upon affairs regarding Laconia.

THE ATHENIAN COMMONWEALTH.

The Spartans considering the fertility of their soil sufficient to furnish them ample means of subsistence had accepted the legislation of Lycurgus which made them a nation of soldiers. But the territory of Athens was so barren and so defective that its inhabitants had to import their food from other places, and con-

sequently the first duty of its government was to encourage the development of industry, and the culture of arts and sciences.

The constitution which this city received from Solon was not purely democratical. It divided the people in four classes, three of which were eligible to all public offices; and the fourth had no political privileges but sitting in courts of justice, and in popular meetings. The nine archons retained their official positions, but their authority was reduced by the establishment of a senate, whose members were chosen from the four castes in equal proportions. The duty of this senate was to discuss laws, and propose laws to the people, in public meetings, who had the right to accept or reject them. Their decisions had to be approved, first, by the archons, and afterwards by the Areopagus, before becoming laws. This Areopagus was composed of the archons whose terms had expired, after giving a satisfactory account of their official conduct. The people themselves were deciding on war.

Every tribunal of justice consisted of five hundred judges, none of whom could be less than thirty years of age. Like all other magistrates they were elected by the people, and were presided over by an archon. The education of children was compulsory. To excite patriotism and honesty in the hearts of men, it was decreed that all those who would distinguish themselves in the public service or on the battlefield, would be awarded a golden crown. Cowardice was

considered a great crime, and very severely punished.

Ostracism was also instituted, and enforced against all public men, whose conduct seemed prejudicial to the general interests of the commonwealth.

The constitution of Solon was inaugurated under the administration of Pisistratus, and it is authentically reported, that without the benign influence of his dictatorship the Athenian democracy would have been a failure from the beginning. Although he exercised an absolute power over the people, no ruler, in any succeeding period, did more than him to promote the prosperity of the commonwealth in all respects. Pisistratus was succeeded by his two sons Hipparchus and Hippias. The former fell victim of a democratic conspiracy formed amidst dissensions and civil troubles; and the latter, as the chief of the aristocratic party was afterwards overthrown by Clisthenes, the leader of the democracy. Then Hippias went to Asia to solicit the assistance of the king of Persia, who espoused his cause, in summoning the Athenians to surrender him the sovereign power. Their refusal to obey this command was a pretext, but not the main cause of the Medic wars.

Besides Sparta and Athens, at the time of the constitutions of Lycurgus and Solon being established, every small city or tribe became an independent commonwealth, having its president, its popular assembly, and its tribunals of justice. But very little interest is attached to their special history, which, however, is sufficiently included in that of Athens and Sparta.

The Spartans, the Athenians, and all the other people of Greece believed in a Supreme Being, whom they worshiped under the name of Jupiter. Besides, they had other gods, such as Apollo, Mars, Vulcan, and Pluto the ruler of the infernal regions, and the goddesses, Juno, Diana and Venus.

MEDIC WARS.

Both of these republics had long prepared themselves for that gigantic conflict of arms with Asia, which was about to break out. Leonidas and Pausanias led the armies of Sparta; Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles and Cimon commanded those of Athens.

The revolt of the Greek cities in Asia Minor against the rule of Persia was the inauguration of that terrible war, 504 B. C. At the outset, they were aided by the Athenians, who attacked Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia, and destroyed it by the flame. Then the Persians, with the assistance of the Phœnicians, subjected Cyprus, the Dorians, the Æolians and the Ionians. Miletus was taken by assault, and all her inhabitants, without exception, were massacred. The Athenians having met with serious reverses had already abandoned the cause of their allies; but their desisting from the struggle, under such circumstances, was not deemed by King Darius of Persia sufficient to atone for their former acts of rashness, and in his implacable resentment he resolved

to avenge upon Greece the burning of Sardis. Having speedily accomplished the subjugation of Ionia, he confided to his general Mardonius the conduct of his expedition against the republics. This first attempt was a total failure; his fleet perished in a storm, while his land army was destroyed in Thracia. These disasters, however so tremendous, at the outset of the conflict, could not subdue the indomitable spirit of the Persian monarch. Yet, before resuming hostilities he delegated ambassadors to all the Grecian cities demanding indemnity for their wrongs; these exactions were satisfied by some of the communities, but the Spartans and the Athenians, in violation of international laws and of the rights of individuals, ordered the plenipotentiaries to be put to death. Without further delay, Darius, exasperated by hearing of their barbarous conduct, dispatched a great army to Greece, giving his generals strict orders to destroy her cities. Some places became entirely deserted by their inhabitants, who, terrified by the approach of the invaders, had fled in all directions; and many of the isles were taken without much struggle. Eretria after a few days of heroic defense, fell in the hands of the Persians, through the advices and cooperation of a few treacherous citizens.

But the Athenians, numbering only ten thousand, aided by one thousand other Greeks, under the command of Miltiades defeated the Persian army at Marathon. Immediately after his great victory, this indefatigable general returned hastily to Athens for

protecting her against the attacks of the Persian fleet, which he forced to retreat to the coast of Asia.

In this first occasion, many of the leading citizens of Athens were unable to control their ill-dispositions towards their victorious commander. While exposing his life to peril for the interests of his countrymen, Miltiades had already rendered them envious and jealous of his merit and achievements. Having no just ground for finding fault against him, his traducers exhibited their detestable feelings, by accusing him of vanity and personal ambition. Nevertheless, they continued to avail themselves of his military services, in giving him a new command, that of chastising the inhabitants of the isles, who, from fear, had sided with the Persians. At first he obtained success, but afterwards failed before Paros, and raised the siege of this city, upon the false advice that the Persian fleet was coming to attack him. He was immediately accused of treason. A short time ago, he had been severely censured for being proud of his victory, now he is prosecuted as a traitor, for his reverses. The bodily injuries, which he had received on the battle field rendered him incapable to appear in the popular assembly, for clearing himself from the accusation, in confronting his accusers; and unjustly debarred from a fair trial, he was condemned to death. His sentence was commuted into a fine amounting to fifty-five thousand dollars of American money. The hero of Marathon, unable to pay this large sum was thrown into prison, where he soon afterward expired,

both from the bitterness of sorrows and from the wounds inflicted upon him in fighting for a capricious, fickle and ingrate people. After the disappearance of the unfortunate Miltiades, the most ardent rivalry sprung up between Aristides and Themistocles. The latter, actuated by a boundless ambition for power and fortune knew how to gain popularity among the Greeks, and by having recourse to the art of flattery and intrigue, he, at last, succeeded Miltiades to the command of the fleet. Aristides was too sincere to flatter, and too dignified and reserved to cabal, and for no other cause than his usual policy of justice and honesty in his judgments and all his dealings, he was exposed to the persecution and slanders of envious demagogues or enemies. Themistocles scrupled not to lead the prosecution against him whom he accused of aspiring to the crown, and proposed that the rule of ostracism be enforced upon him. Thus was Aristides, surnamed "the just," banished from Athens.

Nevertheless, to do Themistocles justice, it is said of him that he used all his power and his ability for the good of his country, and greatly endeavored to preserve the union of all republics to render Greece capable of successfully confronting any future emergency.

It was under his administration that Xerxes, son and successor of Darius, proposed to vindicate the defeat of his father. In the year 481 B. C. he crossed the Hellespont, (now the Dardanelles) and invaded

Greece with an army amounting to more than two million men. Meanwhile Sparta and Athens were determined to resist the invasion of this tremendous army. Aristides was immediately called from exile; and Leonidas, at the head of only three hundred Spartans and a few other brave men from other cities went to occupy Thermopylæ, a pass through mountains, connecting Locride with Thessalia, and hardly wide enough for two chariots abreast.

It is said that the troops of Xerxes were at first repulsed, and could never have effected this passage had they not been assisted by a treacherous individual who directed them through another route. Notwithstanding all the eulogies bestowed upon that handful of men stopping for a moment the advance of more than a million soldiers, it is evident, at first sight, that there was nothing wonderfully surprising as regards their temporary success. The difficulty of the situation in which the Persians were placed had more to do with their reverse than the resistance of the Greeks, which under any other circumstance could not reasonably be considered as anything but a suicidal attempt. It made no difference whether the Persian army numbered two million, or only three hundred men, for no more troops could have taken an active part in the engagement than were allowed by the breadth of the defile; and it is more than probable that the Greeks had chosen a position that could best enable them to harass the front of the enemy without much danger to themselves; and

considering everything, it is easily seen that the Persians might have fought under such disadvantages as to oppose but one to two or more combatants on the other side. Leonidas and his surviving followers could perhaps have rendered their country a greater service, than they did the following night by sacrificing their lives to the title of a vain glory, in the camp of the Persian army. However, such examples were apt to stir up the energies and inflame the courage of all the Greeks, and may have contributed afterwards much to their ability of winning battles in contending against numerical superiority. Nor was the martial valor of the Greeks to be underrated. They were a new and vigorous nation, in a primitive state of civilization, and with a few exceptions, free, as yet, from all political and social corruption, trained in obedience to their chiefs, and inspired by their system of education with ardent patriotism and disregard for death. Wonders are naturally achieved by men of such sentiments, defending their homes and their country, and fighting for independence. On the other hand, the Persians of those times could not be compared with the soldiers of Cyrus who conquered Babylonia. The state of extravagant magnificence and luxuries which their riches permitted them to enjoy, their intemperance, the abominable indulgence of almost all rich men in the lusty pleasures of seraglios, in war as in peace, had, at last, so much weakened their physical and mental strength that they were no longer fit for active military service.

Their empire which was the continuance of the Assyrian or Babylonian power, had lasted nearly two thousand years, and like all other human institutions, might it have been so great and so pompous, was used up and about ready to vanish. Yet, while the physical and moral condition of the two nations is respectively considered, we must not forget the fact that Greece, a country of mountains and valleys, offered the native troops decided and great advantages over those foreign soldiers, who were not acquainted with the irregularities and difficulties of the soil and the ways of communications between the main places. And it is not doubted that at many points, besides Thermopylæ, the nature of the country considerably helped small armies of Greeks to defeat large armies of Persians.

Soon after the defeat of Leonidas, Themistocles vanquished the Persian fleet at Salamine; and this reverse incited Xerxes to retire to Asia. Meantime, Murdonius having three hundred thousand fresh troops under his command, was still entertaining the hope of subjugating Greece, and promised his sovereign to repair all his reverses. He marched against Athens, which he ruined a second time, but he was beaten by Pausanias at Platæa. On the day of this battle, the combined armies of Sparta and Athens destroyed at Mycal, the remainder of the Persian fleet, that had escaped the disaster of Salamine. Thus ended the Medic wars; and the Persians having relinquished their design of conquests in Greece, were compelled

for thirty years longer to carry on a defensive struggle against the Greeks of Asia Minor, who had resolved to recover their freedom.

PERIOD OF PROSPERITY FOR ALL THE STATES OF GREECE.

BEGINNING OF INTERNAL DISSENSIONS. POLITICAL AND
SOCIAL CORRUPTION. THE REIGN OF PERICLES.

In the period of fifty years which elapsed from the end of the Persian wars till that of Peloponnesus, Greece attained the height of her glory, and was justly considered as the most civilized country in the world. Besides extending her authority over a vast territory, the Mediterranean sea and all its islands, she made a wonderful progress in various branches of industry, and promoted sciences, fine arts and literature to a high degree of perfection. So long as they had been engaged in war against a foreign nation, Sparta and Athens had remained allied and succeeded to unite and hold in the bond of patriotism all the other republics of the country, under their respective leadership. The absolute necessity of their struggling for existence, making the general good of the entire country the object of every republic, and of every man's sacrifices, had, so far, developed their virtues, and subdued, at least to a great extent, the violence of their vicious propensities. For, although they

had exhibited their spirit of discord, rancor, jealousy and ingratitude in the management of their political affairs and in their conduct towards their leaders, bound to obey the strict rules of military discipline and the dictatorial powers of their magistrates for their own preservation, they had not, as yet, been seriously disturbed by civil dissensions.

When peace returned, their prestige of victory, the rebuilding of their cities, the tilling of the soil and the breeding of cattle introduced into every commonwealth a condition of wonderful prosperity. Athens became the seat of learning, and the most renowned city in the world for the number and the magnificence of its temples, theatres, monuments and palaces.

But, meanwhile, this régime of peace, of rising civilization and of splendor brought with it a state of political and social corruption. In the earlier time of the Athenian democracy, when the country was still in its primitive state, the public good had been the main object of all men's ambition, but now almost every active partisan attempts to use politics for his own aggrandizement. The love of money and power substitutes itself in place of patriotism and disinterestedness. This is a fair beginning to refute the assertion of modern republicans and democrats that free government depends on the merely intellectual culture of the people. We shall see the Greek republics, incapable of bearing the weight of but a few years of repose and progress, and after

carrying their arms into Asia, moved by the rage of their vicious animosities, throw themselves into civil wars, and thereby prepare the way for the conquests of their masters.

After the Persian armies had retired from Greece, the Athenians immediately set at work to rebuild the ramparts of their city. This action excited the jealousy of the Spartans who advised them to abandon their project. But Themistocles, while amusing them with promises and plausible explanations persevered in pushing the work to completion and prepared Greece for another struggle. It was resolved in the Amphyctionic council that now the Greeks should take the aggressive part against Persia, to assist the Asiatic colonies to preserve their freedom. The Spartan army was under the leadership of Pausanias, while Aristides, and Cimon the son of Miltiades, were commanding the Athenian fleet. They, at once, became masters of Cyprus and Byzance; but Xerxes demoralized by defeats, and no longer placing any confidence on the force of his arms, in the renewal of a military conflict with the Greeks, tried to conquer them by intrigues or by setting a price in gold against their generals. The first experiment of corruption was made on the Spartan Commander, Pausanias, who disgraced his title of conqueror of Plataea in selling the interests of his country to the king of Persia. His treason consisted in setting at liberty thousands of prisoners who had been taken in the recent battles. Although Pausanias was put to death

for his infidelity, from this time the Persian money continued to exert a most pernicious influence over the Greeks and contributed, not only to increase dissensions in the principal republics, but also to stir up that spirit of rivalry between the different Grecian states, which, at last, became the principal cause of their downfall.

After the guilt of Pausanias was proved, the conduct of Themistocles was rendered suspicious by his enemies or his rivals, jealous of his success. They ostracised him first, and afterwards accused him of having known and kept secret the designs of the Spartan general. Notwithstanding all his protestations of innocence, he was sentenced to death. However, having succeeded to leave Greece he passed into Asia, where he went to solicit the hospitality of King Artaxerxes, the third son of Xerxes, who received him cordially and kept him in royal style until he died. If Themistocles were not guilty of the accusation, his sentence and his exile were sufficient to give him a moral lesson on his own detestable conduct towards Aristides. This great man who succeeded Themistocles was really the founder of the Athenian supremacy. The allies of Athens having expressed the desire that the war taxes should be imposed on all cities according to their respective wealth, Aristides was chosen for his justice by unanimous consent, as the general assessor of all Grecian cities. This remarkable man, after he had already been persecuted, and having now in his hands all the treasures of Greece, died poor.

On his death, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was promoted to power. He made himself master of Amphipolis, passed in Thracia, subjugated Syros, and drove the Persians away from all places between Ionia and Pamphylia and from Chersonesus. He compelled Artaxerxes to recognize the independence of the Greeks in Asia Minor (449). He endeavored to preserve the mutual friendship and the unity of the allies of Athens, and punished those who had taken side against her. The Spartans had always been elated at the difficulties arising from time to time between the Athenians and their old friends. But the unfortunate Helots having taken advantage of the occurrence of an earthquake to revolt against their masters, the Spartans manifested at once a great friendship for the Athenians, and solicited their assistance to repress that insurrection. A great many citizens of Athens wanted to see the haughty and aristocratical city of Sparta perish. However the sentiment of Cimon prevailed in favor of the latter, and he obtained the command of an army, which he directed to help her in putting down the rebellion of her slaves. But on their arrival at the field of battle, their assistance was refused; and the Athenians indignant at this insult held Cimon responsible for it.

There had been for a long time a fierce rivalry raging, in Athens, between the democratic and the aristocratic parties. Pericles was now rising to prominence. He had always concealed his ideas and the object of his great personal ambition, but, at last,

declared himself democrat, and began rivaling Cimon the chief of the aristocratic party. As the most eloquent and the most astute statesman and politician of his times, he found it an easy task to win on his side the masses of a people who were always clamoring for more liberty. Pericles helped the democratic party to take decided ascendancy over the aristocracy by proposing a radical change in the constitution of the government, that would give suffrage to all men, and open the public offices to all classes. Having thus become the most popular man in Athens, he had no difficulty in securing the banishment of Cimon, basing his accusation against his rival on the ground that as an aristocrat he had shown himself favorable to Sparta.

In order to preserve his hold on the affection of his people, Pericles commenced entertaining them with public festivals and theatrical performances; he established new political offices, to give his warmest partisans appointments and salaries. From this time a large number of men gave up their industries to become professional politicians, and attempted to live out of the government. But, though Pericles had rendered the constitution purely democratical in form, he soon exercised an authority over the people as great as that of an absolute monarch. The time of his administration, was, no doubt, the brightest period in the history of ancient Greece; for he did more than any other statesman except Pisistratus to promote art, science, oratory, poetry, and several other

branches of learning, and under his rule, the state of Athens was remarkable by both impartial rendering of justice and prosperity.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR BETWEEN SPARTA AND ATHENS,

INVOLVING ALL THE OTHER REPUBLICS OF GREECE.

After a reign of forty years, Pericles began losing his popularity. Amidst civil troubles he could see rivals or enemies rising everywhere against him. Moreover, the political supremacy which Athens had exercised over all Greece, under his statesmanship, had, in the beginning, excited the jealousies and the fears of other republics and especially of Sparta. This perspicacious ruler perceived in their spirit of rivalry pretext to stir up the passions of his countrymen against them and reconquer their esteem; and it is said that for no purpose but retaining the power, he helped the ardent Athenians to launch themselves into the Peloponnesian war through which Sparta and Athens exhausted their vitality in contending against each other for twenty-seven years.

All the other states of Greece took an active part in this terrible conflict, partly on the side of the former, partly on the side of the latter. Pericles died a few years after the beginning of the war; then Cleon, the chief of the democracy, and Nicias, the

leader of the aristocracy, commenced their rivalry.

Cleon, with all his audacity and his using of unscrupulous methods, soon gained ascendancy over Nicias, in the political field, and under him, the democratic party acquired that spirit of turbulence and licentiousness that characterized it in the future. The dissensions and discord among the Athenians, combined with the conceit and the temerity of Cleon, were the main causes of the Spartan victories over them. Cleon and the Spartan general being killed in their last battle, peace was concluded by Nicias and the king of Sparta. Thus ended the first period of the Peloponnesian war (422). However peace was not to be of long duration.

ATHENS IS TAKEN BY THE SPARTANS.

THEBES CARRIES ON WAR AGAINST SPARTA. THE GREEK
REPUBLICS AT THE MERCY OF KING
PHILIP OF MACEDONIA.

Alcibiades, a pupil of Socrates, was, at that time, the most influential and one of the most talented and ambitious, citizens of Athens. Considering war as the best occasion to illustrate his genius, he formed a league in Peloponnesus to rival the supremacy of Sparta, which soon furnished a cause for the renewal of the conflict between this city and Athens. Having obtained some military success, he was accused and

exiled. Soon afterwards being recalled, he vanquished the Spartans in many battles; but he was held responsible for the defeat of his lieutenant-general Antiochus, and again banished.

From this time the Spartans were victorious, and at last took Athens, under the command of Lysander. Her fortifications were demolished and her fleet was burned. Sparta entrusted the government of this city to thirty archons, who were afterwards put to death by the Athenians on account of their tyranny.

After their great victory the Spartans commenced exercising an intolerable despotism over their allies, and the Athenians. Agesilaus succeeded Agis I. to the throne of Sparta. He carried his arms against the Persians, who had been at war with the Greeks since the revolt of young Cyrus of Asia Minor preceding the time of the retreat of the ten thousand under the leadership of Xenophon.

Agesilaus defeated the Persians at Sardis and other places, but he was recalled to Sparta for opposing a league which had been formed in Greece against her. Lysander had been vanquished and killed in battle. Agesilaus won afterwards a victory over the confederate army; but his fleet was defeated near Cnide by the Athenians, who thus restored their supremacy on the seas.

The king of Persia was deeply interested in the continuance of that strife among the Greeks, in which they were exhausting themselves in blood and treasure. Sparta, threatened again by the Athenian

fleet, begged for the alliance of Persia, to whom she sacrificed the liberty of Greece. Relying on these allies, Lacedæmon cruelly chastised her enemies, and while Thebes, Argos and Corinth were submitted to her, the Athenians were deserted by their old adherents.

We have seen the republics of Greece jealous of the supremacy of Athens form an alliance to humble her power; but now, as Sparta is at their head, they turn against her. It is Thebes that leads this struggle, under the generalship of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. They defeat the Spartans at Leuctræ and Mantinea, and make great conquests in Peloponnesus.

Agesilaus died after this. The power of Thebes vanished at the death of Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

Iphicrates and Timatheus, two Athenian generals, were exiled; and the brave admiral Chabrias, having suffered defeat on sea, drowned himself.

At last Sparta and Athens exhausted, were almost in the power of the Persian king, while having to defend themselves against the designs of Philip of Macedonia. This king had been unanimously raised to the throne at a time when his country was assailed by foreign warriors on all sides. After winning a great many battles in various parts of Greece, he vanquished the Athenians at Cheronæa, and became master of the entire country. The soldiers of Athens, engaged in this battle could no more be compared with their ancestors that had fought at Marathon or Salamine, than the troops of Darius or of his successors with those of Cyrus at Babylon.

It was in this period that the corruption of the Grecian republics became most apparent. Demosthenes, the leading democratic statesman of his time, and the most celebrated orator of Athens, says in his remarkable harangues, that Philip had conquered the Greeks by his gold as well as by the force of arms. He informs us that his country swarmed with venal souls and traitors, and to the iniquities of prominent democrats must be assigned the calamities of the commonwealth of Athens and of all Greece.

Demosthenes, having defeated his rival Eschines in their great oratorical contest upon their respective merits, received a golden crown in reward for his virtue; but soon afterwards he was found guilty of having accepted bribes and exiled. Then the champion of the Athenian democracy proved to be a man who would give with one hand and steal with the other.

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

On the death of Philip, the Greeks revolted against his son and successor Alexander the Great, (356 B. C.) To subjugate them this new king crossed the Thermopylæ, and destroyed Thebes. Immediately afterwards he was chosen by the Grecian states as their chief, to lead them in their struggle for national existence and carry on war against Asia. Nothing is more interesting in the history of nations than the

spectacle offered by these republics in imploring the power of a monarchy to save them from self-destruction or from foreign oppression.

King Cyrus of Media, in conquering Babylonia, had accomplished the unification of the Oriental nations under the rule of Persia. Now, Alexander, making himself master of this vast empire will inaugurate the supremacy of European civilization over Asia.

After intrusting his general, Antipater, with the regency of Macedon he started on his warlike march against Darius Codoman, king of Persia, whom he defeated on the shores of the Granicus in Asia Minor, at Issus, in Mount Taurus, and finally at Arbela. The latter battle decided the fate of the Oriental countries in delivering up Babylon, Susa and Persepolis to the power of this famous conqueror. In the meantime, Alexander had subjugated Asia Minor, and the coast provinces with their principal cities, Sidon, Damascus and Tyre, and built Alexandria in Egypt. Afterwards he passed the Indus, defeated Porus whom he made a powerful ally. Coming back he established his headquarters at Babylon for administering the affairs of the empire, and died there, 324 B. C.

REVOLT OF THE ATHENIANS.

DEATH OF DEMOSTHENES. ATTEMPTS OF THE GREEKS
TO RESTORE THEIR REPUBLICS. CONQUEST
OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS.

On hearing the news of Alexander's death, the Athenians immediately revolted against Antipater, giving no heed to the advices of Phocio, who had been the rival of Demosthenes in the time of Philip. The latter statesman was recalled from exile. At first Antipater met with reverses, but, having received reinforcements, defeated the Greeks and took Athens. Demosthenes was then condemned to death, and the great orator committed suicide by taking poison. Antipater established an aristocratic government, in which none but citizens possessed of a considerable fortune could have a voice, and Phocio was elected as its leader. But Cassander, to gain partisans, declared that every city in Greece had the right to govern itself. From this time, the entire country returned to the same political division and resumed the same principles, which had caused its dissensions and ruin before the time of Alexander. On the restoration of the Athenian democracy, Phocio was put to death. But Cassander overthrew the government and substituted that of aristocracy in its place, declaring that no man deprived of a certain income could take any part in the public affairs of Athens. It was about the year 201 B. C. after the dismemberment of Alexander's empire, and a long period of political

revolutions and bloodshed, that the Romans commenced interfering in the affairs of Greece. At last the astute Roman consul, Flaminius, having no object but to perpetuate dissensions among the Greeks, appeared to favor their clamors for political liberty, in proclaiming in the name of the senate of Rome that every Grecian republic would have an independent government. On the issuance of this proclamation the Greeks recognized Flaminius as their savior, but soon afterwards the consul declared Greece a Roman province.

COMMENT UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE GREEKS, AND THEIR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

Of all the nations of antiquity, the Greeks were, undoubtedly, the most liberty-loving and the most talented; and the Athenians surpassed any other people in Greece, for genius and education. Nevertheless, while their intellectual superiority is universally acknowledged, what can more illustrate their incompetency for a free government than the manner in which they dealt with their prominent men from the beginning? All of them, except Pericles, were accused of serious misdemeanor, even of treason, and were, either ostracised or put to death. This statesman owed his salvation and his success, to his incomparable talents, his eminent political abilities, his acute shrewdness, and his profound knowledge of his countrymen which enabled him to triumph over their

turbulent and detestable dispositions. It makes no difference whether or not the others were guilty of the accusations proffered against them, as to forming one's opinion concerning the political principles of Athens. What are we to say of a people, expressing so much dread of a royal crown, so much horror of a royal ghost, and clamoring constantly for freedom, for more freedom, for all the freedom they could secure, and yet so inconsistent, and so vicious that nothing less than the most absolute monarchy was strong enough to manage them? When we consider their lack of unity, their dissensions, their civil wars, their greediness, their state of corruption, under the popular and attractive name of liberty, there is nothing surprising that they were conquered after such a short existence.

A comparison between the Grecian republics and the Egyptian or Oriental monarchies presents us with a most striking and significant contrast. In the former, the people suspicion, deceive, rob one another and cut one another's throats; in the latter, the subjects not only love, but almost worship their sovereigns. Can it be doubted that, had the Greeks been united like the Asiatic nations, under one strong government, they would have saved much blood and treasure, and maintained their independence much longer than they did? And as they were able to perform great achievements during their political turmoils and civil troubles, while they aspired to something which it was not in their nature to attain, how

much more could they have accomplished for mankind and for themselves, had they, most of the time, employed their genius properly, and directed their energies towards the general welfare of Greece?

THE GREEKS' JEALOUSIES OF THEIR CITIZENSHIP, AND THE EPICUREAN SCHOOL.

Other causes besides merely political corruption accelerated the ruin of the Greek republics. Their unwillingness to extend foreigners the privilege of citizenship had reduced the population of Athens alone, during the most prosperous period of its democracy, from thirty to less than twenty-two thousand. Yet the Epicurean school, which was established in opposition to the precepts of Socrates and Plato, and tolerated by all the governments of the country, did more to weaken the states of Greece than any other cause, not excepting the wars. The doctrine of Epicurus taught men that everything pertaining to them ended with their life on earth, and for that reason they should care for nothing but ease and pleasure during their whole existence. The worst of it was; its chief principle aimed at the entire extinction of the nation: "The wise will not marry and procreate children, nor take any interest in political affairs."

ROME.

THE MONARCHY.

Notwithtsanding the confused or fabulous accounts of the origin of every ancient nation, all the most renowned historians concur in the statement that the Roman people began their existence in the year 753; nor is it controverted that Romulus was the founder of Rome and the first ruler of a monarchy, that lasted till 510 B. C. In that period seven kings ascended the throne successively, and according to tradition, all of them worked incessantly with zeal for the prosperity of their people. Romulus inaugurated his reign by allotting to all men equal shares of arable land. He established a council of a hundred of the most distinguished citizens to aid him in the government. It is that assembly which afterwards became celebrated by the name of "Senate."

The population of Rome was divided in two principal orders, the Patricians and the Plebeians. The former were the descendants of the first senators, and constituted the Roman nobility. The latter were the masses of the citizens, and had but little part in the government. After having effected the union of the Sabines and the Romans, Romulus added a hundred other senators, known as "Fathers." (*Patres Conscripti.*)

The knights numbered three hundred chosen citizens, and formed, at first, the royal guard.

Under the rule of Romulus, the population of

Rome increased very rapidly. In the beginning he had settled Mount Palatine, and to it was added those of Quirinal and Capitoline, before the end of his reign.

It is said that the throne remained vacant one year after his death, and the senate assumed the supreme authority. One of the senators was to wear the crown but five days, in order that every one of them might be honored by the title of king. But the people soon tired of so many masters and so frequent changes, and exalted to the throne a Sabine, Numa Pompilius, renowned for his wisdom and peaceable character.

This ruler greatly encouraged agriculture; and while he instituted a state religion, he created a temple to Vesta, and founded a college of Virgins whose duties were to keep up the sacred fire on the altar of the goddess of purity. These Vestals derived revenue from the state, and made a vow of chastity for thirty years.

Numa enacted laws relating to the right of ownership, and fixed the limit and dividing lines of all lands.

The reign of Tullus Hostilius was only remarkable for his conquest of Alba, which aggrandized Rome.

Ancus Marcius, the last prince of the Latin-Trojan dynasty, although resembling Numa in many respects, was impelled to use his sword for defending his people against the Latins, whom he at last vanquished.

Now the Greek-Etruscan family comprehending three kings began to reign. The first of these princes

was a Corinthian, and derived his name from Tarquinies, a city of Etruria, where he had before resided. His popularity in Rome won him the royal crown. He erected magnificent buildings and fortification walls around the city, constructed those famous sewers leading the waters flowing from the mountains to the ocean, and laid the foundation of the capitol.

Servius Tullius, the son of a Latin slave succeeded Marcius. His political reforms which placed the plebeians on a footing of equality with the patricians, in giving them access to public offices, incited the latter to conspire against him, and he was assassinated.

Tarquin the Proud was the last king of the Etruscan line. He is said to have been a despot, but this assertion seems to be without proof but the fact that, like many other sovereigns, he was a rigid executive of the law; and than him no one has more contributed to the prosperity and the aggrandizement of the kingdom. He constructed the capitol and the circus, and won great victories over his neighbors.

His son Sextus Tarquinius having, in a moment of dissipation, raped Lucretia, a Roman matron, the people led by Brutus, revolted against the authority of the king. Not only did they remove him from the throne, and expel the whole family of the Tarquins from Rome, but, as if they could have reasonably ascribed that crime to monarchy itself, they solemnly declared it abolished forever, and established the republic.

A few years later those republicans who had been so imbecile as to consider one or a few individuals as most dangerous beasts, and suppose, meanwhile, a larger number of men as mild as doves, were shocked by a crime analogous to that of Sextus Tarquinius committed by one of their own party. Fabius, a decemvir, renowned for his integrity, being enamored of a young plebeian girl named Virginia, caused her to be brought to him as one of his slaves. But before he could subject her to his detestable passion, her father Virginius, warned in time, saved her honor by putting her to death. Fabius was murdered by the indignant people; but they had had no more right to hold monarchy responsible for the outrage upon the person of Lucretia, than now to impute the vile act of Fabius on Virginia, to the republic. If they gave up a form of government on account of one evil-doer, why should they long preserve any other with its thousands of criminals or public enemies?

THE REPUBLIC.

It is evident that the patricians gained more advantages than the plebeians by their political revolution. The kings had shown a disposition to place both orders on a political level; but after the downfall of the monarchy, a strong distinction line was drawn between them. It is true that the chief magistrates were to be elected annually, but the patricians were

influential enough to make the republic aristocratical, by enacting a law declaring that the consuls be chosen in their order.

Brutus and Tarquin Collatin, the husband of Lucretia, became the first consuls. But the former suspecting his colleague of some treacherous design against the republic replaced him by another. The Tarquin family having resolved to reconquer the throne, the Romans had to struggle against them and the Etruscans during eighteen years before the commonwealth was firmly established.

After this war, the plebeians revolted against the exclusive policy of the patricians, and found it a difficult task to gain access to the management of public affairs. It is in that long and bitter strife that the tribunes were appointed. These magistrates who were chosen among the plebeians served to counteract the authority of the patricians, as they were intrusted with the power of the veto against the decrees of the senate. The office of the ediles was also established; there were two of them, charged with the care of public and private edifices, markets and public amusements.

However it was not till the year 444 that the plebeians were admitted to the consulate. Censorship soon followed. Nothing is more ridiculous in the Roman republic than the office of censor, whose duty consisted in examining the morals of the people, and scrutinizing the conduct of senators and public officials, especially as the Romans pretended to be capable of self government.

Those radical changes in the constitution, having conciliated the patricians and the plebeians for a while, enabled Rome to prosecute, with vigor, her war against neighboring nations, but failed to remove all causes of dissensions.

Caius Marcius, the successful general of the Romans, who had been crowned and honored by the army with the surname of Coriolanus, solicited the consulate; and on the people's refusal to grant his demand, he proposed to punish them for what he considered ingratitude on their part. During a period of famine he revolted against the authority of the tribunes, and threatened his countrymen to use his influence in bringing them the horrors of starvation, should they not dispense with those defenders of popular rights. The people indignant, banished him. But Coriolanus, in his exile, succeeded to stir up the Volsci, and obtained the command of their armies against the Romans. In a short time he took many cities by assault, and established his camp a few miles from Rome, which he would, no doubt, have also conquered, had not Veturia his mother and Volumnia his wife disarmed his vengeance by their tears and supplications. After this the consul Spurius endeavored to recover from the patricians the land which they had taken from the Latins, and divide them between the latter and the plebeians. He failed in this scheme, and for having thus attempted to elevate the Latins to a rank of equality with the Romans, he was accused of desiring the crown, and thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock.

Republicans, in all countries and in all ages have always been noted for visionary schemes, and trials of absurd experiments, but no foresight. The tribunes and the patricians endeavoring to conciliate the interests of the two orders, instituted a decemvirate, every member of which was to administer justice during ten days. The tyranny of this body was such as to become proverbial. The plebeians were imprisoned, put to death, and their property confiscated. After the episode of Virginia and Fabius, the decemvirate was abolished.

Camillus, after vanquishing the Falisci, like the Greek generals, became very conceited and arrogant. Being accused of having appropriated a portion of the spoils of his conquests, he was banished, and in his exile prayed to the gods that the Romans be punished for their act of ingratitude.

During his absence Rome was destroyed by the Gauls. About the time Camillus was recalled, the conquerors failed in their attempt to ascend the capitol, and were at last vanquished by that general. Now Camillus received the glorious title of second founder of Rome; and this city was immediately rebuilt. After the retreat of the Gauls, Camillus vanquished the Volsci, the Equites and all the peoples of Latium, whom the late reverses of the Romans had invited to unite against them. Manlius Capitolius, who had saved the capitol from the hands of the Gauls, jealous of the success of Camillus passed into the popular party, in which he tried to gain ascend-

ancy by demanding that certain taxes be abolished. He was arrested as a rebel and condemned by the tribunes to be precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock. At the time of the second invasion of Rome by the Gauls, the patricians and the plebeians became united. Camillus, being declared dictator, defeated the invaders. It is after this great victory that the first plebeian consul (Sextius) was elected.

To compensate themselves the senators created two new patrician magistracies, pretorship and curule edility. The pretors were administering justice and the affairs of state in the absence of the consuls; and the latter occupied higher rank than the plebeian edility. Soon after all these dignities became, like others, accessible to the plebeian party, and Camillus erected a temple to Concord in commemoration of the union of the two orders. In their third invasion, the Gauls were repulsed by consul Papilius Lenas.

Rome, having vanquished the Sabines, the Samnites, and liberated herself from the Gauls, had to conquer the Grecian cities of the eastern coast of Italy to achieve the unification of the entire country under her authority. This task, however, she found impossible to perform without much blood and gold, as those cities were to be aided by King Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is after the first military success of this powerful monarch that Fabricius, the true Roman patriot, at the head of an embassy from Rome to Epirus, astonished him by refusing his offers of bribes, of costly presents, and of magnificent proposals.

After suffering a second reverse, the Romans succeeded in defeating the Allies. Now the victors turn their armies toward foreign lands. The attempt of the Carthagenians to become masters of Sicily, is the first cause of that long and deadly struggle that will commence raging between the republics of Rome and Carthage.

TRANSITION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC
FROM ITS PRIMITIVE CONDITION
TO A HIGHER STATE OF
CIVILIZATION.

Agriculture, or any other state of a like character, is the most compatible with the democratical form of government. The requirements essential to the success of that political institution, in any nation, have always been found among the tillers of the soil, either ignorant or educated, in a far greater measure, than in most other classes. Reared from their earlier youth through a laborious and moderate mode of life, they are generally satisfied with their condition, and very seldom does their ambition extend beyond their modest and honorable avocation of reaping the harvest of their lands. Nor is there anything in the most attractive surroundings of rural life to excite a strong desire for superfluous riches, luxuries and splendor; and in this state the heart of man will longer remain inaccessible to vices, and retain those

virtues, which, alone, can render men capable of a free constitution.

Such was the condition of the larger class of the Roman commonwealth ever since the Tarquins had been expelled from the throne, till the end of the first Carthaginian war, in the third century before the Christian era. During this period of about two hundred and forty-three years, next to agriculture, war was the most honored profession among the people.

Under that régime the ancient Romans were the truest type of democracy that could be expected from mankind; for moderation, disinterestedness, patriotism, courage and justice were the virtues assigned to their character. The dearest objects of their affections were their modest homes, their fields and the welfare of the commonwealth. The soldier was submitted to a most rigid discipline, through which he fully developed his strength and vigor, and acquired habits of hardship and perseverance; he was never allowed to remain idle or deviate from his frugal mode of life. Rome produced the most heroic warriors, and the most faithful generals of ancient times. The tillers of the soil, who were, from time to time, invested with dictatorial powers when taking the command of armies, in case of public danger, after having repulsed the invaders or vanquished the enemy, quietly returned to their fields, not expecting other honors to be bestowed upon them, but that of having served their country, and voluntarily renouncing dictatorship for the re-entering into obscure life.

Religion was the fundamental principle of their political constitution, and of their education. The Romans worshiped the same gods as the Greeks, and like them, believed in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of reward and punishment. Their oath was of greater reliance than a mere affirmation or a legal form; it was a solemn and sincere appeal to the gods for the truth of everything that was declared or testified.

When we consider the conduct of the public men of Rome, in those times, can it be denied that the oath, as a conscientious bond, exerted a great moral influence on the character of the people, and served wonderfully, by inspiring them with veneration and awe for Jupiter, and with fear of Pluto, in preserving their estimable qualities and the purity of their democracy?

Regulus, in his last moments, gives a striking example of that old Roman virtue. This illustrious general, having been vanquished by the Carthagenians in Africa, was sent back to Rome with a view to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, and was compelled to swear he would return to Carthage, should that attempt be unsuccessful. Regulus once admitted in the Roman senate, disregarding himself entirely, looked only at the interests of his countrymen, whom he advised not to make such an exchange, as, he alleged, the Carthagenian prisoners were all young and could yet be useful to their country, while he, himself, was too old then to be of any service to Rome. Notwithstanding the supplications of the

Roman senators, the tears of his wife and of his children, true to his oath he departed for Carthage, knowing that atrocities and crucifixion awaited him; but he preferred the most horrible death to perjury. Now, if men would sacrifice their life rather than violate their oath, can it be doubted that they would be in all their actions more honestly inclined than others of different principles, towards the commonwealth and all their countrymen? Evidently, their religious belief was the basis of their patriotism.

Rome had had her Cincinnatus, her Fabricius, her Regulus; but her Sulla, her Marius, her Catiline and her rabble were to appear in the succeeding age.

The causes which brought the fall of the republic sprang up in the reign of incessant wars which lasted from 267 to 146 B. C. During this period Rome had conquered Carthage, Greece, and most of other civilized nations of the world; and following on these conquests the glorious power of the republic declined rapidly. The large immigration of foreigners, and principally of the Greeks and Etruscans, accompanied with the flow of riches from all countries into the capital of the empire, inaugurated a new order of things among the population. The Romans became fascinated, and conquered in their turn by the intellectual and social culture of this new people; and under such influences, departing gradually from their old rule of conduct and their simplicity of manners, they adopted foreign fashions, foreign habits, and new ideas. To the régime of agriculture succeeded that

of eloquence, literature, science, art and the various trades, accompanied with the introduction of theatrical spectacles and the combats of gladiators.

Marcus Cato, the censor, renowned for his knowledge and austerity of life, saw the danger which was threatening his countrymen, and resolved to use his best endeavors to check the growth of the evil. This venerable magistrate, for many years, instituted a most vigorous prosecution against the prevalence of foreign manners, grecian art, oriental luxuries, and denounced the Bacchanalian mysteries and other immoral shows. Enquiring into the conduct of the people he removed from public offices all those detected in leading a disorderly life, or who had, in any way, departed from the virtues of old democracy, and struggled in vain against persons offering bribes at elections. In his attempts at eradicating vices from society, he adopted such arbitrary and absurd measures as are carried only in corrupt democracies, and made himself most obnoxious by meddling in people's private affairs. He tried to regulate the expenses of living, the cost and style of houses, and the fashions and ornaments of women. He went so far as censuring a senator for having kissed his wife in the day time in presence of his daughter, and even to ask men and women questions touching their marital relations, and the procreation of children. It appears that selfishness, and the growth of civilization had already, in Cato's time, demoralized people so much that the number of births was visibly decreasing, and the Romans

were on the way to national sterility. However, Cato was no more pedantic than the Puritans of Cromwell's reign, in the seventeenth century, or the immaculate people in other modern democracies, who constantly talk of reforms, but seem to cherish the main source of unmanageable evils. It is true that this vigorous rule of censorship succeeded for a time, improving, in a measure, the moral condition of the city; but the success, which was more apparent than real, could not be of long duration, in a population already cosmopolitan and rapidly increased.

The higher state of civilization inspired the people with a strong taste for luxuries and magnificence, stimulated, first, by an increasing desire for wealth, and afterwards, by the use of unscrupulous methods, for acquiring more. Military discipline fell into neglect, and agriculture was no longer respected.

The Epicurean doctrine substituted itself in place of a restraining power, and was immediately followed by the relaxation of public morals. Patriotism, which had been the dominating feeling of the republic disappeared never to return, and was replaced by egoism and rapacity.

What is more worthy of all men's notice than the transitory period of the Roman republic from its primitive state to that of a higher education? If intellectual development alone were the fundamental principle of republicanism, as you, republicans and democrats so often assert, the time had then arrived for the Romans and other civilized people to prove that

theory. But, why is it that the commonwealth of Rome, commences decaying as the régime of the virtuous, simple and so-called ignorant farmers is yielding to that of science and art? Why is it that this republic, which stood pure and vigorous during more than two centuries, under the rule of the agriculturists, sinks into deep demoralization, after passing into the hands of educated classes? How was it possible that the Roman senate, a body composed of the most venerable and most learned men of their time, could have conquered the world, but now were not able to govern it? This deplorable, yet remarkable, failure of the government was chiefly owing to the fact, that, as old virtue and restraining influences had departed from the commonwealth, the old democratical constitution was, by far, unequal to the arduous task of checking the evils brought by a rapidly increasing population and by the diffusion of high learning, luxury and splendor.

It is evident that a democratic government, which supposes so many virtues in men, has already, at the very time these virtues are most needed to save a commonwealth, developed in their nature the vices that must bring the republic to ruin.

There is but one cause capable of directing the unanimous attention of the people, or the devotion of all factions, in a corrupt republic, towards the general welfare of their country, and save it, at least, for a time, from anarchy; it is a foreign war. The same feelings, which will unite a people to confront

such an emergency, will divide them in peace and soon lead them to more serious difficulties. In the former case, every individual becomes a devoted patriot, because he has to depend on the authority of a united nation, and is even willing to obey the command of a dictator for his own protection; and in the latter, so few men care for the nation, and the nation is weakened by so many dissensions and separate interests, that the contending political factions must inevitably bring civil troubles. Led by ambition and jealousy, old Cato and other notable citizens had advised and urged the Roman senate to destroy Carthage and conquer Greece, but the discords that raged in the population, rendered them impotent to restrain license and maintain justice and order when the foreign wars were ended.

Moreover, the concentration of the nation's wealth in the hands of a few men, the disappearance or the total ruin of the middle classes effected by the late wars of conquests, and the avarice of capitalists, had entirely destroyed civic equality and created a spirit of social distinction. The classes which had to be supported at the expense of the state, while attributing their miserable condition to the encroachments of the rich, were regarded by the latter as a most dangerous element of the population, against which property and life, they alleged, should be guarded; and the wealthiest class aimed at nothing less than absolute authority and exclusive monopolies of the country's resources. During the war the senate

had exercised a sovereign authority, although the popular assembly was never dissolved. But the decrees of the government had been dictated, and all magistracies controlled, by a set of opulent men who claimed the titles and prerogatives of nobility. This party consisted of the old patrician order, and the plebeian families recently ennobled for their military services and their newly acquired riches. It is interesting to notice these plebeians, who would, no doubt, were they still poor, join the ranks of the opposition against the nobles, seek titles of distinction and take side against the proletariat. The ascendancy of a tyrannical oligarchy, the growth of the poor classes, the rise of a rabble and the constant increase of vices and crimes were the evils that pervaded the population.

If Rome could, at that time, have secured a constitution adequate to her wants and difficulties, she could certainly have averted the calamities that followed. But, unfortunately, the most prominent and active citizens of the republic could not unite on a policy of national exigencies; and having no other countries of any great importance to conquer, they became the worst enemies of the commonwealth, by inaugurating a reign of upheavals and civil wars, in which we shall see the foremost men of Rome expending profusely the gold and the blood of their countrymen, with pretended attempts at reforms, in contending for political supremacy.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

CIVIL WARS AND DOWNFALL OF THE REPUBLIC

133—30 B. C.

Tiberius and Caius Gracchus were the originators of civil troubles in Rome. Under a pretense of philanthropy they increased dissensions in the city, and finally brought a conflict between the senate and the people, by proposing their agrarian law. Their main object was to gain popularity, in endeavoring to improve the condition of the proletariat, at the sacrifice of a class, to whom Rome owed most of her success in the late conflicts. Upon alleging that a few land occupiers had no legal title to their property, by the passage of that bold measure, they were to be removed, the state was to resume possession of this common land, and distribute it in equal shares among the people. But the landlords in opposition to this, claimed, in equity, a legal right to hold their lands, on the fact that they had been occupied and cared for by themselves, and their ancestors also from time immemorial. The consuls and the senate took side with the land occupiers.

But, as schemes of this character never fail, in any country, to meet with the favor of that element of the population, devoid of property or honor, Tiberius and Caius encouraged by the adhesion of the rabble had recourse to fraud and violence to carry their nefarious design. In this struggle they failed;

their followers were routed or killed in two riots and both of them perished. It is important to notice at the outset of the revolutionary era that the scarcity of land in Rome is one of the immediate and most potent causes of the disorders.

Next came the war of Jugurtha, king of Numidia, a Roman province in Africa. This prince easily succeeded and even by means of small sums, to bribe one of the consuls and many of the Roman generals. When and where did ever a monarch sell the interests of his people?

Following such events, the rivalry between Marius and Sulla, both of whom successively seized the power by force of arms; the massacres of men by Marius, who had been his political opponents; Sulla's victory over the Italian and Marian forces, followed by a régime of confiscations of property, proscriptions and executions; the murdering of a pretor and a tribune for their annoying the people with pretended reform laws; the attempt following of another tribune to remodel the law-courts and his reviving the agrarian and corn laws, and his assassination which created an insurrection in Italy; the social war, which, rather than solving difficulties, increased vicious animosities, between the Romans and the Italians; the combat between the Milo and Clodius factions which resulted in the death of the latter's chief; the sacrilegious acts of Verres and his followers, who plundered the temples and altars, and carried the statues of the gods away; the corruption of all the government de-

partments, and the conspiracy of Catiline which terrorized Rome, and the resistance of his army to the senatorial troops, in which that audacious and desperate leader fell sword in hand; at last the terrible conflict which arose between Pompey and Cæsar, and ended by the assassination of the former and the elevation of the latter to dictatorship or Imperium, furnish a fair illustration of the sacrifices and dear experiments which the Roman people had to go through before acquiring sufficient wisdom to perceive the fallacies of democratic principles, and recognize the absolute necessity of a strong and stable government for their vast empire.

That long reign of disturbances and civil wars, accompanied with political and social corruption goes a long way to refute the assertions of the republicans that the educated are more easily governed than the ignorant classes.

Cæsar, who has been considered by all modern republicans, as the despot of republican Rome, and whose name is universally recognized as title of Imperialism, was, no doubt, led by great ambition; but it can hardly be said that for political aspirations and tyranny, he surpassed any other prominent man, during the whole period of the revolution. To both his success and his eminently high attainments, in war, in diplomacy, in legislation, and in all branches of learning, must be assigned the reasons of his opponents for their adverse criticism of his conduct. Had any of his rivals been victorious over him, he

would have been known as the despot, but not Cæsar.

Those who have rejoiced in his terrible death, alleging that he well deserved his fate for having subjugated Rome, have, to say the least, exhibited their ignorance of Roman history, or very little judgment for confounding license with rational freedom, and despotism with good government. It is not possible for fair-minded men, thoroughly acquainted with the political situation of that republic, in the time of this wonderful genius, to share the feelings, and endorse the utterances of those fanatics who have eulogized Cassius and Brutus for leading the conspiracy against him. After Catiline's disappearance, Cæsar, finding himself opposed by all the aristocrats, joined the plebeian party which had been led by Marius on the same line of policy outlined by the Gracchi. He succeeded in forming that famous league with Pompey and Crassus, known under the name of triumvirate, and was immediately after elected consul. In order to gain popularity among the poorer classes for working up his aggrandizement, he passed his agrarian law, which favored that element of the population against the will of the senators, and demanded the government of Gaul which was granted to him. His success in the former case shows how much had the power of the Roman senate weakened even only since the beginning of the revolution.

While Cæsar was subduing the people of Gaul, gaining fame and the affection of his soldiers, Crassus,

one of his colleagues, was losing battles and wasting his armies through his temerous adventure against the Parthians in the barren plains of Mesopotamia. The news of his death marked the beginning of the rivalry between Pompey and Cæsar. Each of them wanted to govern alone.

In looking upon the struggle raging between these two powerful individuals, we must not lose sight of the fact that the constitution of the government, which was still democratical, opened the state offices to all men that could arrive there by the suffrage; nor, under this rule, have the republicans any more right to condemn Cæsar for ambitioning the power than to excuse or exonerate Pompey for attempting to hold it. The fault lay in the constitution itself which now is nothing but a mere source of anarchism.

During Cæsar's absence, Pompey acted the part of a demagogue by allowing corruption to grow in Rome, when he had the power of suppressing it. The tribunes, whose office was to uphold popular rights, were increasing difficulties among the people by abusing their veto privileges. The authority was not respected, because it could not command respect; even the tribunals of justice were venal, and laws were disregarded by the masses, because they were not carried out. On this state of demoralization, Pompey based his hopes to gain sufficient popularity for being promoted to dictatorship, and succeeded, at last, to be elected alone to the consulate. The

election of a single consul was a high step towards strong authority, and the first occurrence of this kind since the republic was founded.

Upon hearing this news, Cæsar alarmed at Pompey's success, immediately demanded from Gaul that he be allowed to become candidate for the chief magistracy the following year. His request was granted by both the senate and the popular assembly but opposed by Pompey.

It is not denied even by the most enthusiastic admirers of Cæsar that, before crossing the Rubicon, on his return from Gaul, this transcendant statesman had designed to carry on war against the present consul, and take the reins of the government from his hands; but, meantime, Pompey, by resisting his rival's just demand, had violated the constitution and opposed the will of the people, for he was no more entitled to sovereign authority than the humblest plebeian in the country; consequently, it was not Cæsar, but Pompey himself who was to be held responsible for the bloody conflict that ensued and resulted in his overthrow and his death. This was not the first time that the latter showed his arbitrary spirit and his boundless ambition. Upon his returning from Asia, Sulla, who was, at that time, consul, honored him with the title of imperator, and confided to him the command of the Roman armies in Cisalpine Gaul, Africa and Sicily. But, after his victories, Pompey became so insubordinate as to refuse obeying the orders of the consul, and commenced dictat-

ing to the dictator of Rome, who was compelled to recognize him as Pompey the Great.

This unfortunate individual was, undoubtedly, one of the most illustrious men and greatest conquerors whom Rome ever had, next to his rival, and was well qualified to govern a country of sound politics in times of general tranquillity; but Cæsar was far superior to him and to any of his contemporaries in all requirements for saving a nation from political and social disorders.

Cicero's narrow policy in antagonizing Cæsar and advocating the permanency of the old constitution was dictated by his personal ambition. His vanity and conceit offer just ground to the belief that he would energetically oppose the discontinuance of an institution, which, constantly requiring the services of his talent as public speaker, rendered him the most attractive figure in the commonwealth. His divorce from his excellent wife Tullia, without reason but that of marrying another woman younger and richer than her is fair evidence that the so-called virtuous orator was himself, in a high degree, affected with the corruption of his times. However, he had once aimed at rendering eminent services to his country, and had succeeded in delivering Rome from Catiline; but this event had not put an end to all difficulties, nor could have this ever been effected by Cicero's counsel. His own accounts of his political opponents' schemes against Rome, and his boasting of his political achievements were, no doubt, exaggerated and

calculated to retain his hold on the feelings of his party and increase his popularity. At any rate, his upholding of a corrupt democracy was equivalent to his approving of a régime of lawlessness and iniquities.

With all his oratorical powers, he had been powerless in restoring order and bringing factions to unite on a policy of compromise and public safety, since the overthrow of Catiline. His orations affecting love for the Roman people, exhorting them to reform and virtue, and all his pathetic invocations of the blessings of Jupiter, Juno and Apollo had had no effect but intensifying dangerous animosities and aggravating the woes of the republic.

If Cicero, Pompey, Cato and Brutus had ever sincerely believed that the maintenance of the old constitution was still longer a possibility, they were, indeed very deficient in political sagacity. On the other hand, Cæsar well knew that the republic, at that time, was a nonsensical institution, that would soon dissolve itself; and a very large portion of the population were fully aware that Cæsar, of all men in Rome, was the best adapted to restore order in the empire. The time for peace and reform had arrived. When Cicero himself saw that the democracy had fallen never to rise again, resigned to his fate, he frankly assigned the cause of its ruin to the degeneracy of his countrymen.

Cæsar was first elected dictator for a term of ten years, after having defeated Ptolemy in Egypt, and

Pharnacius, the son of Mithridates, in Asia. Upon his return from Spain, where he had won over the two sons of Pompey, his last victory which brought peace to the world, he was raised to dictatorship and imperialism for his life time, and recognized as the savior of his country by the senate amidst the rejoicings of the population.

If the senators were insincere in their action, and only endeavored, by bestowing such honors upon Cæsar, to render him the more ridiculous or odious in the minds of the people, it can fairly be said that once, in their existence, those republicans, by means of their usual hypocrisy, had, though unconsciously, done a great deal of good to their country. Nor could honest men be censured for favoring his promotion to sovereignty, for there was no other alternate course left to the people but this: they had either to continue in a state of anarchy and jeopardize their dearest interests on earth, or establish a government strong enough to put an end to that bloody strife which had now lasted nearly a century. The sons of those republicans, who had killed Tiberius Gracchus upon suspicioning him of desiring the crown, thought it wise to try imperialism as a new experiment.

That Cæsar fully deserved his title of dictator and savior, was clearly demonstrated by the three years of his administering the affairs of the empire. It is true that the dictator, had, by his ambition for power, like many others, contributed to the miseries

and the fall of the republic, but it must be also acknowledged that now his private interests are in common with those of the state. Cæsar modestly acknowledged having received his authority from the people; he immediately manifested the most liberal disposition towards his political enemies and friends alike, and became a public benefactor. The agrarian scheme, which had been one of the main difficulties in Rome since the beginning of the revolution, he wisely adjusted; and while he greatly improved the condition of the poor classes, he protected the rich. His conduct contrasted, in a most striking manner, the policy of Sulla, who, having assumed the power, confiscated property, and banished or massacred his political adversaries. The latter had composed his own epitaph, which, in a few words, illustrates the character of a republican demagogue: "None has caused so much good to his friends or so many woes to his enemies."

Cæsar colonized Carthage and Corinth, making allotments of land to the soldiers and the proletariat. He purified the senate and the assembly, and all public offices, rejected every one guilty of corruption, placed all departments under the strictest scrutiny, and saw that the treasury was no longer plundered. Similar reforms were introduced in all the provinces whose inhabitants had been robbed by rapacious republicans. His strong hand, at last, corrected all the abuses caused by the democratical constitution. Never had Rome, since the end of the first punic

war, been so well governed, as under the rule of Cæsar. There is reason to believe that all those sudden reforms in a state where almost every politician was venal, must have been keenly felt by a considerable number. When it is known that sixty senators conspired against Cæsar, his murder must be ascribed to something worse than their merely wounded pride. There was no despotism in his government but his honest policy, which was causing a set of men who still considered themselves of noble birth and a privileged class to part with their opportunities for self aggrandizement through the government.

The murderers of Cæsar, who claimed the honor of saving Rome from despotism by his death, broke the reign of peace she had enjoyed only three years and brought her the most frightful state of anarchy. Their followers, who ran through the streets crying, "Freedom, liberty and enfranchisement," were the dregs of the city, that class of men who constantly live in idleness, and depend on crimes or public disasters for support. Those cries of "Freedom and liberty" can be well compared with the terrible yells of savage tribes accompanying their war dances, previous to their committing atrocities; and it is noticeable that, in every case, such public utterances can always be depended upon as the forerunners of serious upheavals. Public liberty is ended, when it is cried out.

The republican rabble were soon brought back to

mourn for Cæsar by Anthony's funeral oration on his body, announcing that the late dictator had willed every one of them a certain amount of land and money. Antony used this opportune moment of popularity among this dangerous element, to take hold of the government, and was elected consul.

Meanwhile, Octavius, grand nephew and adopted son of Cæsar came from Greece to Rome, claiming his rights, and was recognized as the legitimate heir of his uncle. Antony, fearing this individual as a dangerous rival, associated himself with him, and from this agreement resulted a second triumvirate, in which Lepidus, a wealthy citizen, became their colleague. This league proved much more tyrannical, and much more disastrous to Rome than that of Pompey, Cæsar and Crassus. Their first act was to divide among themselves the provinces of the empire. Attributing the death of Cæsar chiefly to his excessive clemency, they inaugurated a régime of proscriptions which surpassed in horrors that of Sulla; and they mutually sacrificed their friends, their benefactors and their brothers. Cicero, Antony's enemy, lost his head, at the instigation of Octavius. Envy, hatred, vengeance and cupidity, were ruling so mightily that three hundred senators and two thousand knights were put to death.

In the meantime, Brutus and Cassius, anxious to restore the republic, were attempting to impose their will on the Asiatic provinces. They were, afterwards, attacked by Antony and Octavius at Philippi, in

Macedonia, and perceiving their inevitable defeat, committed suicide. It was on this occasion that Brutus exclaimed, "Virtue, thou art but a word!" This utterance is true, when applied to civic virtue under a democracy, especially in a grown state; it is true, regarding the character of a man so depraved as to stain his hands in the blood of his benefactor, and so devoid of patriotism, notwithstanding all his pretenses of love for Rome, as to deprive her of her wisest and most honest ruler.

As the republican party was utterly defeated, Antony and Octavius made a new division from which Lepidus, this time, was excluded. In the last struggle between men ambitioning the sovereignty of Rome Octavius vanquished Antony at Actium (31 B. C.), and was immediately raised to the imperial dignity.

ROMAN PROLETARIATE.

Almost all working men, living under a republic, in a new, large and rich state, and especially those who have emigrated from old settled monarchies, are generally apt to commit the same error, in attributing to the benign influence of a democratic constitution, their material prosperity, which, in truth, is principally effected by the infancy and the natural advantages of that country. In the earlier period of a nation, under a republican rule, all men are placed

on a footing of equality. But as soon as the material resources of the territory have been, in some measure, developed, after the population has considerably increased, and particularly at that time, when, as we have seen, the people have attained a high degree of civilization, the inequality of fortunes becomes permanently established. It is a matter of interest to all those impressed with the idea that republics favor, and monarchies lower, the laboring classes, to observe the condition of the Roman people in the last days of their commonwealth. At that time, there were in Rome, more than three hundred thousand idle persons left without means of support. The wealth of the nation was concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, many of whom had acquired their share of it by unjust methods through the patronage of democratic institutions. They were in possession of magnificent palaces in the city, and elegant villas in the country, and were spending their life in Epicurean style, while the men who had by their martial valor served the ambition of republican demagogues in their bloody strifes for power, or contributed by their ballots to the political and financial prominence of others, were almost naked, were deprived of shelter, and were begging for food through the streets of the imperial city.

ROMAN EMPIRE.

The country which Octavius was called to rescue from its long régime of anarchism was confined within these boundaries: the Danube on the north; Ethiopia, the deserts of Arabia and of Lybia on the south; Pontus Euxinus (now the Black Sea) and the Euphrates river on the east, and on the west the Atlantic ocean.

The population of this vast empire excelled, both in civilization and manhood all other nations of the earth, combined.

Soon after being raised to the throne Octavius adopted the name of Augustus.

The new government was, in reality, a constitutional monarchy, in which the old republican constitution was partly preserved by the restoration of the popular assembly and the senate; which resumed their legislative functions, while the executive powers were vested in the emperor. Although the chief-magistrate was to be inamovable from his position. during his life-time, Augustus preferred the modest title of "princeps" to that of "king." This ruler accomplished a wonderful success in administering the affairs of state in all departments, and through his wise and moderate but firm policy, he was recognized as the founder of this new commonwealth, and the valiant defender of popular rights. Meanwhile he exercised the more authority over the chambers and the people, as he seemed to have less ambition for it.

He presided over the senate, and practically his will was almost absolute.

Under the democratic rule, the Romans had achieved very little that was beneficial to themselves but the conquests. Following them, the internal dissensions and the civil wars were very injurious to the industrial development and the commerce of the country. Moreover a large class of the population cared nothing for the establishment of any solid enterprise; as they could derive wealth from the public offices.

The peaceable and wise government of Augustus raised the population from that stagnant state of nefarious indolence and directed the minds of the people towards legitimate occupation, and the culture of fine arts. Rome was adorned with the most splendid monuments, under the direction of the emperor; and all wealthy citizens emulated his examples by improving their property. The imperial city became the rival of Athens in all branches of industry and learning, and the amelioration of affairs was not less remarkable in the provinces than in Rome.

On the death of Augustus, the form of government remained unchanged; and although his immediate successors, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Galba are said to have been, not only worthless, but most depraved and tyrannical rulers, none of them caused Rome near as much injury as the Gracchi, or Marius, or Sulla or Catiline, or Pompey or Cæsar,

under the republic. Nor could the following emperors, Otho, Vitellius, Commodus, Caracalla and others of like character, with all their inherent baseness and iniquities, but be far more harmful to themselves than to the state.

Now, on the other hand, what individual in the republic, during the whole period of the revolution, or from the time a higher civilization had been introduced into Rome, could be compared for virtues, public spirit and useful achievements, with any of these emperors, Augustus, Titus Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, the two Antonines, Pertinax, Diocletian, Constantine, Theodosius and Justinian I? What legacies has the Roman republic bequeathed to us but Cicero's letters and speeches? Were not the talented men of Rome, at that time, satisfied with plagiarizing the literary productions of the Greeks?

It is from the Roman empire that all the modern nations of Europe have received the elements of their civilization; and almost all the monuments and works of ancient Rome whose ruins are still so carefully preserved, and so greatly admired as models of art, belong to the emperors' régime. Even our inheritance from ancient Egypt, the ancient monarchies of Asia, and the Greek nations, descended to us through the medium of that agency.

It should be universally acknowledged that some writers are justly censured for having attempted to belittle the admirable courage, and having ridiculed

the faith, of the Christian martyrs, while they exalted the barbarous deeds, and proclaimed the religious enthusiasm of the Tartars, of the Mamelucks and of the Mohammedans, in their conflict with the followers of Christ. Honest opinions and beliefs should always command the respect of even their most fervent opponents; and what more satisfactory proofs could the heroes of the new faith have given of their sincere devotion to it than to be crucified, or burned, or lacerated by beasts?

Nor is it controverted that Christianity is superior to all other religions as a moral and civilizing power. But, we can not very reasonably denounce the conduct of some Roman emperors for remaining devoutly attached to their own faith. The persecutions of the Christians under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and Julian, however so severe, were but punishments inflicted upon them, for defying the authority of the government in attempting to rival its old worship. How could it be expected that those emperors and the people would have been immediately so strongly convinced by the doctrines and arguments of the Christian apostles as to set to work destroying the statues of their gods and goddesses and place the cross upon their temples, when nearly two thousand years after the crucifixion of Christ, three fourths of mankind still ignore or oppose his doctrines, while a vast number of so-called Christians, themselves, seem inclined towards materialism rather than religion?

It was reserved for Constantine to establish Christianity as the state religion. This memorable event occurred in the year 330. At the same time, he selected Bysantium, as his new capital, which, according to his name, was called Constantinople; and this immediately gave rise to a second Roman empire. Theodosius was the last emperor who governed the United Empires of the West and the East. He joined the Orthodox religion, and firmly planted the cross upon the ruins of paganism. On his death (395) his state was divided between his two sons Honorius and Arcadius. The former reigned in the Western, and the latter in the Eastern Empire. Then the barbarian nations commenced their invasions, and at last succeeded to overthrow the Empire of the West. Their régime was followed by the middle ages.

The Empire of the East stood till 1453, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks.

THE REPUBLIC OF CARTHAGE.

The city of Carthage was located on the north coast of Africa, a short distance from the present city of Tunis, and was founded in the ninth century B. C. To the Phœnicians were the Carthagenians indebted for their origin, their language, their religion and their civilization.

The government was an aristocratical republic. It consisted of two chief-magistrates, known as suffetes,

or consuls or dictators, a senate and a popular assembly. The suffetes, like the Roman consuls, were elected annually. The senate was composed of citizens distinguished by their age, their wealth, their integrity and their wisdom; and they were elected for their life time. According to Aristotle, so long as this venerable body exercised the legislative and executive authority, the commonwealth was very prosperous and a mighty power. But afterwards, a large class of citizens having acquired considerable riches, became so influential and arrogant as to seize the reins of the government. This political revolution was the beginning of the downfall of Carthage.

The tribunal of justice consisted of a hundred and four judges, five of whom were intrusted with superior jurisdiction. They all were appointed perpetually; and their institution was intended to maintain a sort of equilibrium between the nobles and the senate. When the senators yielded their authority to the wealthier factions, the chief-magistrates, being unable to command respect by reason of their removability, money became the ruling principle; nor was there any power to curb the insolent tyranny of those judges, although Aristotle and historians proclaimed the incorruptibility of their tribunal.

The tyranny of an oligarchy, and even the despotism of a monarchy, are, by far, preferable yet to the corruption of a democracy.

Evidently the Carthaginian government lacked a balance of power, and was even inconsistent with

the principles of either monarchy or democracy. It is not reasonable that the chief of a nation be removable, when other magistrates, judges or legislators, retain their positions perpetually. As the former is the executive, and it becomes urgent that he should inspire all possible respect, for properly administering justice, the true interests of the nation entitle him still more to stability in office than any other individual in the government.

Arts, sciences and literature were, at any time, but very little practiced in Carthage. Education consisted chiefly in writing, arithmetic and book-keeping. The Carthagenians esteemed nothing but money, and employed all their talents and energies in accumulating riches. They were, essentially, a people of merchants and traders; and to their commercial intercourse with all the maritime states, must be assigned their wealth, their pride, their conquests, and even their extinction. They carried on war only to protect and extend their commerce; and for such purposes they contracted alliances with kings, and purchased troops from the neighboring nations and even from the foreign countries, with which they were trading. These advantages enabled the Carthagenians to maintain their contest against the Romans for more than forty years. On the other hand, Rome was without money, without commerce, without industry but agriculture; nevertheless it found in the homogeneity and devotion of its troops, in the principles and patriotism of its leaders and in its domestic resources,

a power of perseverance, resolution and energy, superior to that derived by its haughty rival from its riches and mercenary troops.

Hannibal, the hero of Carthage, in the second war with Rome, was one of the most famous generals of antiquity. His father, Amilcar, who had led the Carthaginian army in the preceding conflict with the same power, compelled him, in his youth to swear to an eternal hatred of the Romans. True to his oath, Hannibal crossed the Alps, overran Italy, won the battles of Ticinus, Trasymene, Cannæ, and otherwise harassed the armies of Rome for seventeen years. His brother, Asdrubal, newly arrived from Spain with an army of fifty thousand men, having failed to form a junction with Hannibal, was defeated at the battle of Metaurus by the united armies of the two Roman consuls. Meanwhile Scipio Africanus, in order to induce Hannibal to leave Italy resolved to pass into Africa and attack Carthage; and after he had won two important victories, the Carthaginians recalled their general. But the conqueror of Cannæ was vanquished at Zama by Scipio. Thus ended the second punic war.

According to the treaty of peace concluded between Rome and Carthage, the latter was to pay the former a very heavy indemnity in money, relinquish its foreign possessions and refrain from carrying on war even in Africa without the consent of the Romans. Hannibal became one of the suffetes, and endeavored to introduce reforms in the government by exposing

the corruption of the offices. Meanwhile he advised the Carthagenians to break their treaty with Rome by taking side with Macedonia, in its defensive struggle against that republic. On hearing this, the Roman senate demanded the head of Hannibal; and the most influential men in the government of Carthage, to rid themselves of an inopportune individual attempting to put an end to their plundering the public treasury, were about to grant the Romans their demand, when Hannibal fled from the city, and sought refuge into Syria, where he was received as the host of king Antiochus. Soon afterward, this monarch having been defeated by the Romans, Hannibal went to Bythinia; and as King Prusias consented to deliver him to the Roman General Flaminius, the great Carthagenian committed suicide.

Such was the fate of that renowned captain, of that faithful magistrate and champion of popular rights, who had, during his whole life fought for Carthage against both its foreign and domestic enemies. Like many Greek statesmen he was sacrificed by the republicans to their rapacious greediness.

Many years after this Cato led an embassy from Rome to Carthage with a view to adjust some serious difficulties that had arisen between the latter power and Massinissa king of Numidia and a Roman ally. The old general was amazed by the prosperity and wealth of that republic; and fearing that its enormous military resources would soon enable it to resume hostilities, on his return to Rome he advised the

senate and the Romans in all his speeches to annihilate their rival without delay. The Romans, jealous as they were of the Carthagenians, soon found a pretext for war, and under the generalship of Scipio Æmilianus accomplished the entire destruction of Carthage. They razed it to the ground and passed the plough over it, 146 B. C. The republic of Carthage, and the Carthaginian people, that fell to rise no more, have left no legacies to mankind, not even their signature. In the zenith of its glory, the city itself had a population of about eight hundred thousand.

However, this place was again colonized by Julius Cæsar and Emperor Augustus, and rose to such prominence that it became the rival of Alexandria, the second city of the Roman empire. In the fifth century, it was made capital of the Vandal Kingdom, and about three hundred years afterwards, was utterly blotted out.

THE HEBREWS.

The Hebrews, like the Assyrians, the Medians, the Persians, the Lydians and the Syrians, were the descendants of Shem, one of the sons of Noah; and Heber, son of Shem, was their first ancestor.

According to the first book of Moses, Abraham, the son of Terah, was the father of the Israelitic people. Terah left the Chaldees in Mesopotamia,

and with Abraham, Sarai and Lot went to the land of Canaan; and after marrying his half sister Sarai, Abraham emigrated from Canaan into that country which was to belong to his large posterity. His son Isaac, whom his wife Sarai bore him, begat Jacob, known as Israel also, and father of the twelve patriarchs, who became the chief of the twelve tribes of Israel.

In the twenty-first century before the Christian era, Joseph, one of these chiefs, having excited the jealousies of his brothers, was sold by them to traders, who led him into Egypt, where he was thrown into prison. Soon afterwards King Pharaoh, admiring his talents, liberated him, and confided to him the administration of the state affairs. It is through the intercession of Joseph with the king for his brothers and their followers, that they were allowed to establish themselves in Egypt. They came from the southern part of Palestine and occupied all the land of Goshen, where they continued their pastoral life. Although they were submitted to the authority of the king, during his reign they preserved their language, their institutions and their customs and enjoyed a régime of ease and felicity; but, afterwards, under his successor, they were subjected to the most tyrannical oppression. Not only were they employed as slaves in the construction of public works, but having alarmed the nation by their rapid increase, their male children were ordered to be thrown into the Nile. They were forced to endure that terrible des-

potism until Moses came to their deliverance

King Pharaoh objected to the exodus of the Jews from the country. But, at a time when Egypt was desolated by terrible plagues, the Israelites abandoned their settlements, and took the road back to their ancestor's land. Arrived at the shore of the northern arm of the Red Sea, they found themselves closely pursued by Pharaoh's army. However, during the following night, a tremendous wind-storm left the sea, at that point, so low that Moses and his people were able to cross it safely; but as the Egyptian army which had followed them through the same route, was defeated on the opposite bank, it was drowned, while retreating, in the returning waters. Before reaching Palestine or the promised land, the Hebrews were held by Moses in the wilderness to reform themselves; and it is in that period that he promulgated his law on Mount Sinai.

On the death of Moses, Joshua, at the head of the Israelites, crossed the Jordan River and conquered Palestine; and its territory was divided among the tribes.

Following this, the government of the judges which lasted from 1880 to 1080 B. C. was excellent. Samuel, the last of them, having proposed to make the office hereditary in his family, the people dissatisfied with the administration of his two sons established a monarchy and raised to the throne Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin. This ruler subjected his army to a rigid discipline, and successfully carried on wars

against the Philistines and the Ammonites. Before his death, he was succeeded on the throne by David, a young shepherd of the tribe of Judah. During a reign of nearly forty years, this sovereign, who certainly was the most famous prince of Israel, used his best endeavors to promote the prosperity of the nation. At the time of his death his states extended from the Euphrates River to the Mediterranean Sea, and from Phœnicia to the Arabic Gulf. He had conceived the design of erecting a temple to God, and a palace to himself, but it was reserved for his son Solomon to carry it out. The skillful mechanics of Sidon in Phœnicia and the riches from East Indies were employed in the construction of those edifices 1001 to 962 B. C. They were connected, but it is said that the palace was far larger and richer than the temple. Judging from the most reliable accounts, both structures combined, although excelling all edifices of the age, in ornaments and riches, were very inferior in magnitude and design to a large number of temples or other public buildings of ancient and modern times.

Solomon's death put an end to his political system. Ten tribes revolted against the authority of his son Rehoboam and established a separate kingdom known as "Israel," to the throne of which Jeroboam of Benjamin's tribe was raised. Rehoboam became the ruler of the kingdom of Judah composed of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

According to the old Testament the Kings of Israel,

renounced to the worship of Jehovah, prescribed by Moses, and adored Baal, the god of the Phœnicians against the remonstrances of the prophets, who had already made their appearance before the Philistine war. The kingdom was destroyed by Salmanazar (718) B. C. In 606 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom of Judah and a large portion of its inhabitants were brought captives to Assyria. Joachim having revolted against the king of Babylon in refusing to pay him the tribute agreed upon by the late treaty of peace, the Assyrian governors received the orders from their sovereign to carry on war against him; and afterwards Nebuchadnezzar himself came to retake Jerusalem, and led another large deportation of inhabitants into captivity. After this the Jews allied themselves with the Ammonites, the Sidonians and the Tyrians against the Assyrian monarch, who immediately fell on Jerusalem and ruined it entirely. The temple was burned, and all Hebrews who had saved themselves from the sword, were brought into captivity. When Cyrus took Babylon, he allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild their temple, and the ramparts of their city. Nevertheless, of the three tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Levi, only about forty thousand Jews returned to Palestine. Upon their arrival they found themselves opposed by the Samaritans, who had succeeded to influence Cambyses, king of Media, to issue an edict against the rebuilding of the temple. But Darius I. of Persia having revoked

this edict, the temple was begun, 520 B. C., and completed in four years. It is this edifice that existed at the time of Christ, though not equal in size and in splendor to that of Solomon.

In the reign of Artaxerxes, Esdras, by the king's consent, came to Jerusalem with a view to reorganize the government of the Jews and restore the religion of Moses; and under the direction of Nehemiah, the Israelites began the construction of the ramparts of Jerusalem (467), which, though they had to repel the incessant attacks of their formidable enemies, were completed in a short time.

The King's minister, Haman, being opposed to the Mosaic law, obtained from him an edict ordering that at a certain date all the Jews in the Persian Empire be massacred. But Esther, a niece of one of the King's wives, through her intercession with him, saved the Jewish people by turning the wrath of the monarch against his own minister.

On the death of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I, Soter, King of Egypt, became master of Judæa, and brought forty thousand Jews to Alexandria. Soon afterwards they were followed by large numbers of their countrymen, who established themselves in various parts of the country. However, having, after a while, tired of the extravagant régime of the Lagi-dæ, the Jews took side with Antiochus, King of Syria, in his war against Egypt. Under this monarch (203-167) the Jews enjoyed considerable freedom; but in the time of the Seleucidæ, they were subjected to

cruel treatment. Their temple was plundered; Jerusalem was taken, and partly destroyed by the flame, and after this all the Jews who remained true to their religion were terribly persecuted.

Judas restored the political independence and the religion of the Hebrews and became the ally of the Romans. After many victories, he perished, at the head of his troops, that were vanquished by the army of Demetrius Soter. Pompey took Jerusalem (64), and Herod became King of Judæa. It was in his reign that Christ was born and crucified.

The Jews having revolted against the power of Rome, Emperor Nero confided to Vespasian the conduct of the war against them. This general subdued almost the entire country; and the historian Josephus, leader of the revolutionary party was taken prisoner. In the reign of Vespasian, Titus, entrusted with the continuation of the struggle, took Jerusalem after a long siege, in which upwards of seven hundred thousand men perished. The temple was burned, and the city was entirely destroyed; but it was not till 73 that the rebellion was completely suppressed.

The dispersion of the Jews, begun at the time of their Babylonian captivity, was accelerated by Ptolemy I. of Egypt, and became complete with the destruction of Jerusalem.

In the reign of Emperor Caracalla, the government of Rome granted equal civil rights to all free inhabitants of the empire, which the Jews, as well as the others, enjoyed until the cross was planted upon

the ruins of paganism. In the time of Constantine they were subjected to the same severity as the Pagans themselves. Conversion from Christianity to Judaism was made a penal misdemeanor; and the Jews forfeited their rights of circumcising their Christian slaves. Constantine adopted a still more extreme policy, as he established the punishment by death for marriages between Christians and Jews. Honorius rendered them ineligible for state or military service, and Theodosius prohibited them from building new synagogues.

In the fifth century Palestine ceased to be the center of Judaism. Meanwhile the Christianization of the Roman empire drove them to the East where they joined the Persians against the Byzantines. In the beginning of the seventh century they recovered possession of Jerusalem, but were unable to hold it against Heraclius. First, the Moslems were more favorable to them than the Christians, but afterwards Mohamet and Omar persecuted them.

The Jews fared well enough in Mauritania, in Spain, and in the Germanic States, except among the Spanish Visigoths. It is under the Frankish monarchy that they received the best treatment; they were allowed to hold property in land; but as the Germans were engaged in agriculture, the Jews entered into the various branches of trade. They controlled the commerce, and continued their lucrative traffic in slaves.

During the crusades, the Christians manifested

their hate of the Jews by bloody upheavals against them, although the popes expressed themselves in the most vigorous terms against such persecutions.

At no time, in their history, did they more control the financial affairs than in the middle ages. No sooner had the Church commenced forbidding usury of any degree among the Christians, than the Jews began accumulating riches, by controlling the loan or banking interests; and this combined with their religion rendered them the objects of universal aversion. They were expelled from England in 1290, from France in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and from Spain and Portugal, about a hundred years afterwards. In Germany, Italy, and the papal states, they found a safe refuge.

The political emancipation of the Jews, in modern times, began in Germany, and meantime received its greatest encouragement from France. As early as 1550, the Jews began to return to Paris; but it was only in 1791 that they were admitted to equality of civil rights with the other citizens. They were allowed to return to England in the time of Cromwell. Now, in all European countries, except Russia, Moldavia, Roumania, Spain and Servia, they enjoy religious freedom and equal civil rights with the other citizens. And even in the latter countries, although their worship is restricted, they are protected by the government.

They enjoy their religious freedom in Persia. In Teheran they are engaged in various trades and pro-

fessions; but in Ispahan and other towns, they are very poor, being almost all common laborers.

In Arabia for more than eighty years, the Jews have been subjected to a terrible régime of oppression, and even the rabbis, until about twelve years ago, were compelled to perform the most humiliating duties. But, since the Porte has assumed the authority over that country, the persecution of the Jews has ceased, and their condition has been greatly improved.

Outside of Tripoli and Tunis where there are more than one hundred thousand, and at least forty or fifty thousand of them respectively, they fare very poorly in Africa, especially in Morocco.

Beyond the boundary line of the latter country the Jews, like the Jewish tribes of Arabia, are a nomad people, and conduct caravans across the desert.

The population of the Jews in the world amounts to more than six millions, divided thus: About five million in Europe, two hundred thousand in Asia, seven hundred thousand in Africa and three hundred thousand in the United States and some of them in Australia, Canada, Mexico, South America and the Islands.

Although the Jews have the reputation of cherishing money more than all other peoples, and are not all scrupulously honest, they are very seldom accused of crime in any country. They are never involved in any shooting affrays, and scarcely in quarrels and in law suits; nor are they ever seen among burglars, rioters or anarchists.

Since the year 73, having no country which they can properly call their own, their increase, like their material interests, has been considerably checked by the necessity of traveling from one place to another, especially, till about a century ago. But now, although they can not all be compared, for progeny, to the Hebrews of Abraham, families of six, eight, and even twelve, children are numerous, chiefly among the poorer classes.

THE GREAT AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

INTRODUCTION.

It is very interesting and very amusing, indeed, to hear republican and democratic politicians or educators constantly praise their institutions, and express their contempt for the monarchies of Europe. That they excel, by far, all corresponding classes of any other country for giving out theories without definitions or explanations; for making charges or assertions without proofs, and spreading absurd notions, is illustrated by their own frequent statements, in the usual following terms. "The régime of equality, freedom and liberty enjoyed by all people under our constitution and our sound system of education has turned the attention of the world towards our commonwealth. The mere fact that millions of people favored our laws so much that they have shaken off

the yoke of European monarchies to seek refuge into our democracy, while at no time has there been any great emigration from our shores into any foreign lands; the fact that our country is growing more rapidly than any other portion of the earth, in population, in industry and in wealth; that the poor or laboring classes have greater opportunities to improve their condition in it than in any foreign country, shows, in the most striking manner, the effeteness of monarchies, and also the superiority of our institutions over those of all other nations. Now, let every one consider for a moment: what more equality and freedom can a people ask than free speech or a free press, and the frequent exercise of the suffrage? In our land of the free no one is subject, and every man is a sovereign, because he has a voice in the government and a possible access to any of the state offices and even to the chief-magistracy. Is it possible that men, however so exacting in their requirements or so extravagant in their expectations could clamor for greater privileges than insulting their public officials, their judges, their governor, and even the president of their glorious republic? Under our constitution every individual has the right to enter into any career, to adopt any trade or profession that suits his interests or liking; he may stay in the country, or leave it when he desires, as he has not to serve years in the military service; he may do anything he pleases provided he does not infringe on the rights of others. Nor have there been any people on earth, but ourselves,

competent for a free government. In the last century the French people attempted to found a democracy similar to ours, but on account of their excitable temperament, they could not preserve it, and recoiled to monarchy. The English commonwealth in the seventeenth century, had not experienced any more success, because its aristocratic classes were strongly opposed to it, and religious animosities broke the nation into contending political factions. Nor is it to be forgotten that the Greek and Roman republics, being constantly engaged in wars, were governed by dictators, and their people blinded with ignorance and superstition worshiped gods and goddesses. Besides enjoying all the great advantages already enumerated, we are not, like most people under monarchies, compelled to pay any contributions whatsoever towards the support of any church. Our people are taxed to maintain educational institutions, the teachings of which are accomplishing wonders in diffusing practical education among them, in developing their best characteristics, in promoting the happiness of individuals, and insuring the stability of our republic. To our principles of government and education our prosperity is due; and in the face of our phenomenal growth and incomparable achievements, they are unworthy of our institutions who find fault with their character; they are anarchists, severe laws should be enacted against them, and they should be kept out of our free country."

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

PRIMITIVE STATE OF THE REPUBLIC.

THE MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY.

EQUALITY OF CONDITION.

Notwithstanding the great amount of wisdom assigned by Americans to the authors of their political system, philosophers or other men of erudition are not unanimous in bestowing upon them the highest terms of adulation. That they all were, themselves, men of high personal character, and won by their public spirit the respect and the affection of all their people, and the admiration of republicans abroad, is generally admitted; but it is impossible to deny that they failed to illustrate that profound knowledge of mankind so essential to statesmen in the greater and more difficult task of marking out for a nation its rule of conduct.

The intense feeling of hostility, which they manifested through their declaration of man's rights, towards the king of Great Britain, is the best indication that they held him, as a monarch, almost entirely responsible for the grievances which they alleged their colony had suffered from the rule of that kingdom. Evidently, it was, on their part, an error of judgment, to impute their difficulties to the arbitrary will of a magistrate, who, although sitting on the throne of the mightiest empire of the earth, would, by virtue of its political constitution, have found it impossible to act the part of a despot against any of

England's colonies, independently of her parliament, whatever the state of his mind or of his caprices towards them, and whose highest degree of official or royal prerogative was to execute the will of the English people themselves.

The lack of political harmony existing between the American colony and the mother-country, could be traced back to the time of the first English settlements in the new world, and had continued increasing with the homogeneousness of the colonial population, until, at last, the two peoples, not only differed, but were entirely opposed to each other, at least in ideas and interests. Most people of New England, wherein the democratic ideas highly prevailed, were still greatly actuated by the feelings of their ancestors, that had fought on the side of the puritanic party against the principles of the Stuart dynasty and the authority of the Church of England. Although under the new and more popular constitution which had ruled England since 1688, the power of the king was not exceeding that of the president of a republic, the people hated the very name of royalty, which they unreasonably regarded equivalent to despotism itself. Moreover, despite all efforts through English political influence to establish a state church in the colonies, religious freedom existed throughout the country; nor could the colonists become reconciled to the union of the state to a church, which, in their opinion was, by reason of its episcopacy, as orthodox as the catholic hierarchy.

Their religious prejudices, however, were not better grounded than their animosities against the King of England, for the Puritans had always been, in reality, more arbitrary than the Episcopalians ever were at any time since the beginning of their existence. It is true that under the reign of Charles the First, they proclaimed, throughout Britain, their principles of religious and civil liberty; but after becoming dominant in the country with the rise of their chief Cromwell to power, they surpassed all other religious denominations by their intolerance and tyranny. They unmercifully persecuted all those who dared to deviate from the puritanic idea, until, at last, the English people tired of their politics, their religious eccentricities and fanaticism, resolved to restore monarchy both in church and state.

The chief and immediate cause of the trouble between the old and the new country, arose from the rivalry of the two peoples in material interests. Acting in perfect accordance with a colonial policy, adopted at that time by any of the European nations, the people of England demanded that the American colonies be not allowed to carry on commerce with foreign nations nor compete with the mother country in manufacturing and ship-building. The commons, representing the more democratic portion of the English people were fully as active in upholding the interests of home merchants and manufacturers, and as prompt to grant their demands, as the House of Lords. Even, in the time of the commonwealth,

Cromwell's government enacted the navigation laws, that favored England's interests; and it was on the recommendation of the English Board of Trade that, at last, the Stamp Act and the Tax on tea passed both houses of parliament. Consequently, had England, at the time of the war of independence, been a democracy, instead of a monarchy, the Americans could not have hoped for a more liberal policy from her president, than they had the right to expect from her king. At no time have republics exercised more benevolence towards their colonies than monarchies. Both Rome and Carthage governed their provinces with an iron rule, and used them respectively for their own aggrandizement.

In the beginning of their national existence it was very natural for all Americans to stand on a footing of equality. Their country, separated from the old settled European monarchies by a tremendous ocean, was, comparatively, still in a primitive condition; and, though larger and richer in natural resources than was the more populous or better half of Europe, its population did not exceed three million people. There was no concentration of wealth in the hands of any class; the people were neither very rich nor poor; their fortunes, their facilities of securing a livelihood, and their prospect or possibilities were about equally divided. Moreover, reared under a government noted for strictly enforcing its laws, and taught from their earlier youth, that they must be guided by a principle higher than money; that they should depend for

their support and prosperity, not on the profession of politics, but on industry or other legitimate pursuits, they had, so far, kept their hearts closed to all those vices which demagogism in a democracy never fails to develop in a superlative degree; and, in consequence of this, mutual confidence and justice prevailed in the land. There could hardly be a state of circumstances more propitious, more encouraging, and better adapted to direct the minds of the masses towards their founding a democracy than was offered by the present period. It was an epoch bearing much resemblance, in many respects, to that at which the old Roman democracy replaced the monarchy of the Tarquins, and was rendered glorious by the presence of American patriots worthy of Cincinnatus and Fabricius.

A few years after their democracy was founded and recognized by all civilized nations, the Americans acquired Louisiana, a tract of land adjoining the southern portion of their first settlements, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. Then the territory of the republic had become so extensive, so advantageous by its enormous amount of natural wealth, and its diversity of climes, that, of all countries, it at once gained the reputation of being the best adapted for emigrants from the oldest civilized countries of the earth. Its immense area of arable land that could and can still be procured at exceedingly low prices; the wonderful fertility of its soil, yielding the most abundant crops of wheat, corn,

barley, oats, cotton and sugar-cane, and its incomparable facilities for breeding cattle, are sufficient to form the foundation of the nation's greatness. When, besides all these resources, we take into consideration all other advantages which the country possesses; its tremendous mines of coal, iron, lead, zinc, copper and even of silver and gold, its timber lands, its water powers and water ways, and its commodious harbors on both of the oceans, it can not be doubted that this portion of America, now occupied by the United States, was intended by nature to become sometime one of the wealthiest, most populous and mightiest countries of the earth.

Now, let us see, on the other hand, what were the nature and the circumstances of the European countries, their degree of growth and development, and the social condition of their people at the time of the American revolutionary war. In the first place none of these countries possessed natural resources equal to those of the United States. The most populous nations of Europe had existed for more than one thousand years, or ever since the renaissance of civilization, upon the ruins of the Roman Empire of the West. In the beginning every country had a population much larger in proportion to the extent of its territory, than that of the American republic, at the time it was founded. And although the Europeans never had had at their disposal such great advantages as are even now enjoyed by Americans, their means of subsistence were about equally shared by all the

people, as it generally occurs in the primitive state of all nations.

But, afterwards, fortunes were made; wealth naturally concentrated itself in the hands of a few individuals, and increased, as it was by rights of heredity handed down from generation to generation of one particular class of people. The rise of wealthy families was, then, in accordance with a natural law that governs events in the life of nations, accompanied with the existence of a still larger poor class. While the growth of the population and the development of material resources had promoted the interests of the rich, the scarcity of land, which could not be acquired but at a high price could only the more increase the difficulties of the laboring elements. Several centuries had brought to every nation that inequality of fortunes, which gave birth to three distinct orders, the aristocracy, the proletariat and the middle class. There is nothing very surprising or unnatural, then, in the fact that a portion of the population finding it too difficult to earn a livelihood at home, sought foreign lands with the hope of bettering their condition. Of what great advantage could Christopher Columbus' wonderful discovery have been to mankind, had not America been used as the refuge country for the overflowing element of the European nations?

Is it not nonsensical, even idiotic, or most unjust to impute to the despotism of monarchies, of whatsoever form they may be, the emigrating of some

poor people to the United States of America, for acquiring cheap lands or other easy means of subsistence which they could never secure in their own country? In supposing that the United States and all countries of Europe would have been under the same form of government, which would have been the more rational or more feasible thing for the poor people, to emigrate from the American republic into Europe, or from Europe into the American republic? One must not be endowed with great genius to give this question a reasonable answer. If he knows only a little more than nothing at all, he can but acknowledge that a new and large country, naturally rich in all respects, offers the poor classes far better chances of improving their condition than old settled countries. The difference between Europe and the United States was this: The former had a tremendous population, but very little new land, while the latter with its vast quantity of good land and the immensity of its natural resources had no population comparatively, and depended entirely on foreign immigration for its development and the building up of a great civilized nation. And as America was settled and civilized by Europe, so is the white portion of Americans the outcome of the Europeans.

Yet, while the emigrating of foreigners may appear an enormous influx in the eyes of Americans, notwithstanding the vastness of their territory, it is very insignificant for the populous and prolific nations of Europe. The United States occupies a territory of

about three million five hundred and sixty-two thousand square miles, and its population, according to the last census, amounted to only sixty-three million people, including seven or eight million negroes. This result hardly gave eighteen inhabitants to a square mile of the country's area, which is almost free from worthless land. Then, if Americans or other democrats or republicans were justified in assigning their achievements to the wisdom of their institutions, after incessantly receiving immigration from almost every old settled country on earth for more than a century, and, as they themselves acknowledge, without losing any people by their passing into other lands, how much more justified still would the monarchists be, in praising their own principles for promoting, holding and managing populations of such density as those of the European countries?

The entire territory of Europe covers an area of three million seven hundred and eight-five thousand square miles, which is only two hundred and twenty-three thousand miles larger than the United States of America, and its population which, a century ago, was only one hundred and forty million, now amounts to about three hundred and fifty million people, or a hundred to the square mile; while a large portion of its northern countries is not habitable, and there is a considerable amount of waste or worthless land in all others.

Although the population of the European monarchies has always increased and still continue increas-

ing, without the assistance of any foreign immigration, they have been at work for centuries past, settling, not only the United States, but all other countries of America, and parts of Asia, Africa and Oceanica. Consider this, democrats and republicans; good government and good education stimulate the growth of population; and the more populous a country, the more difficult becomes the task of governing it. The rapid increase of population in a new and rich country, like the United States, is no evidence that its institutions are wise. It is possible that the natural circumstances in which it is placed, and even the very defects of its political constitution may, for a time, promote the growth of a nation, before its evils are complained of, and the chief cause of their existence is discovered. But such a large proportion of population in the European countries, notwithstanding all their comparatively great disadvantages, is the strongest proof that their political institutions are of the soundest and most vigorous character.

Why is it, often ask Americans, that Canada, which is under a monarchical rule, does not grow as fast as the United States; that a great many Canadians, especially those of French origin, immigrate in large numbers to our country, if our institutions are not better than their own? It is true that the growth of that country has been apparently slow when compared with that of the American republic. Yet, if all circumstances connected with it are considered, it can not be denied that its increase of population

has been as large and as rapid as could be warranted by the nature of the country. The aggregate population of all the provinces that constitute the Dominion of Canada did not exceed one million four hundred thousand inhabitants in 1840, but now it reaches at least five million. The Canadian territory is far from possessing as great natural advantages as the United States. Although some portions of the country are very productive in wheat, barley, rye and oats, there is a vast area of its land, which is almost worthless, nor could ever be rendered habitable. Like the United States it has a great abundance of fine timber of various kinds, fisheries and furs; but it is without cotton or corn, and deprived of the natural advantages for the breeding of cattle which Americans possess in a far greater extent than any other nation of the earth. There are in Canada but a few mines of any importance, besides those of Lake Superior, and both the provinces of Ontario and Quebec are without coal. Moreover its climate, being very cold throughout almost the entire country, has but very little attraction, except for a few emigrants from northern regions, while the incomparable diversity of climes in the American republic invites emigration from all points of the compass. The St. Lawrence river, the only outlet to the sea from the principal cities of the Dominion, being frozen in winter, is closed to navigation and foreign commerce at least five months in the year.

The assigning of the slow progress of Mexico and

other South American republics to the influence and intolerance of Catholicism is equally erroneous. These countries, with all the richness of their soil, are, as to climate, placed in the same circumstances as Canada, with this difference: their climate is hot or mild, and therefore better adapted for people of the warm and temperate zones than others; while many countries, in all parts of the world, having a similar climate, receive their great share of emigration from the same source.

Evidently, the people in the United States are not indebted to the wisdom of republican institutions for their material prosperity, any more than the natural resources of their country can be attributed to that same cause, and they would obtain equal success under any of the monarchies, if they were placed in similar circumstances. Are not the people under the latter governments, as free as in any republics to embrace any professions or trades they choose? Have not a great many of them risen from abject poverty to affluence? Have they not extended their commerce and their industries through all parts of the world?

It is evident, Americans, that the very inequality of condition, which you incessantly assign to the despotism of European monarchies and aristocracies has been to this time the main source of your own prosperity. Have not the riches of Europe furnished you with capital to carry on your enterprises and develop the resources of your country? Do you not

go to the monarchies of England, Germany and Holland to borrow money from their free, thriving and wealthy people? Besides, notwithstanding all the contempt so often expressed for the working men or paupers from Europe, it is to those elements that you owe your national or individual existence. It can not be said even that all emigrants from England into America till the time of the war of independence were of as high a grade as those of the first colonies that had been founded in the new country, in the reign of Charles the First. Had you depended on wealthy immigrants for building up your nation you would have been one of the most insignificant people on earth, for it is not customary for the richer classes to relinquish the comforts and pleasures of old built up countries to seek refuge in the lonely and uncomfortable resorts of wild lands.

Enough has been said already to confute the frequent assertions of republicans or democrats that the monarchies of Europe are opposed to the welfare of mankind. However, it is only after exhibiting the fallacies of the great modern republic and the production of their evils, that all the respective merits of those governments shall be proclaimed.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, ITS EXCELLENT
POINTS AND ITS DEFECTS.

The American constitution is prefaced in the following terms:

“We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.”

Articles I, III, IV and VI of the Constitution are almost wholly copied from the monarchies of Europe. They provide for a Congress composed of a Senate, and a House of Representatives, and give this Congress the power of laying and collecting taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to borrow money and pay debts; of providing for the common defense and general welfare; of regulating commerce with foreign nations and among the several states; of coining money and fixing the standard of weights and measures. Those assemblies are authorized to punish the counterfeiting of the securities and current coin of the United States; to establish postoffices and postroads; to punish piracies and felonies, and offenses against the law of nations; to declare war and make rules regarding it; to raise and support armies; and to provide and maintain a navy; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; to provide

for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such parts of them as may be required in the service of the United States, and to preserve the writ of "habeas corpus."

Americans, who boast of promoting the advantages of individual liberty by the trial of all crimes by juries, ought to know that this provision in their Constitution is no invention of their own, that jury trials were instituted in absolute monarchies, many centuries before their republic was founded.

Nor should they forget that the same protection they offered to their authors and inventors by securing them the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries, was enjoyed by the corresponding classes in the European countries long before the authors of their Constitution were born.

The law compelling Congress to protect every state against invasion, and on application of a state legislature or of its executive, against domestic violence, is nothing more extraordinary than the attitude or policy of England or other monarchies towards any portion of their empire respectively. Most articles additional to, or amendatory of, the Constitution, are also taken from the monarchical rule.

The parts of the Constitution which Americans have the right to claim as their own, although partly borrowed from the Greek and Roman republics, and on which their government differs from monarchies constitutional or absolute are; the election of the president for a limited term of office, the accessibility

of all individuals to public offices; Section 3. of Article III making treason against the United States consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort; religious indifference and materialism in public education, and the boundless freedom of speech and of the press. It is these very points that render the American Constitution unconstitutional, as it shall be clearly demonstrated hereafter that this institution is entirely inconsistent with the constitution of man.

The right of Americans to secede from England is not questioned; but however so high a degree of justice in their title to national independence, while they secured their freedom from that power, they could have established a form of government suitable to the requirements of a large country, of a growing population and advanced state of civilization.

The most striking impression which a careful observer receives from his reading the American Constitution after knowing their precedent declaration of man's rights, is that its authors seemed guided by one sentiment; the fear of a George the Third. They should have dreaded a Cromwell rather than a Charles the First or a George; a Catiline, a Verres or an Athenian democrat, rather than a Cæsar or an Alexander. Their minds centered in their effort to provide the people with the means of rendering the rise of one man's power impossible, and even to guard them against any state official that might be disposed to haughtiness. But, as they principally aimed at

protecting the new nation against any man's tyranny, they were unconscious of preparing for their country, through their injudicious ways of asserting the rights of men, evils or woes far more numerous and far more dangerous than any monarchical despotism could ever produce. If they were not altogether ignorant of history, nor influenced by the absurd idea, so often expressed by some American papers, that the nature of man undergoes a radical change and improves itself, after he has passed from the old world into their land of freedom, they were unwise enough to subject the destinies of the nation to the trials of new and fatal experiments, rather than taking lessons and receiving warning from the republics of the past ages. Naturally disposed to judge all political men of the country by the standard of their own respectability, and animated by the desire of preserving their cherished principles of liberty and equality, American statesmen were led to establish a system of free and most lenient government and blindly trusted in the permanent purity of democratic institutions.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, STATE LEGISLATURES, CITY COUNCILS. THE MOST ENTHUSIASTIC ADHERENTS TO THE JEFFERSONIAN SCHOOL OF VIRTUOUS DEMOCRACY ACCUSING AND CONDEMNING ONE ANOTHER.

The great republic comprehends now forty-four states, every one of which has an independent legis-

lature, though submitted to the federal government at Washington. Every state elects a governor and a lieutenant-governor; and its legislature is composed of a House of Representatives, and a Senate whose members are also elected by the people.

The federal government consists of a President and a Vice-president elected by the people for four years,* and a Congress, composed of a House of Representatives from all the states, elected for two years, and a Senate, whose members are chosen by the joint ballot of both houses of the state legislatures for six years; and each state has two senators. The Vice-President is president of the Senate; and the President chooses the secretaries of his cabinet, eight in number, who have to be confirmed by the Senate; he also controls all the appointments of officials in the federal service throughout the country. There are more than a hundred and fifty thousand of these offices, which, after every presidential election, are eagerly sought by several hundred thousand men.

Besides, in each of the state legislatures, the prin-

*The President and the Vice-President are not elected directly by the suffrage of the people. For their election each state appoints, for every party in the Presidential contest, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Representatives and Senators to which the state is entitled in the national government. The people of each state vote for these electors according to their political opinion, respectively. The set of electors, in each state, that receive the majority of the popular suffrage, vote for the Candidate of their ticket. It is the majority of the electors from all the states that elect the President and the Vice-President, who sometimes fail to carry the majority of the votes in the nation at large.

cipal officials, such as the state and county attorneys, auditors, sheriffs, etc., and a board of education are elected by the people.

Every city and every little town in the country elects a mayor, a board of aldermen; and the principal officials, even the gaolers, the constables and public impounders are appointed by the suffrage. These elections take place annually or every two, three or four years, according to the localities.

Looking over this vast political field we can easily judge of the great opportunities of these republican and democratic patriots to serve the interest of their country. Should the theory of philosophers, Thomas Paine, Jeremiah Bentham and his pupil Mills, that the frequency of elections promotes the welfare of a people, be true, it would certainly accomplish wonderful results in the republic, and the Americans would, undoubtedly, be the most wisely governed people in the world; as not only do they surpass any of the other nations by the number of electoral contests, but these occur so frequently that their political system may fairly be said to consist chiefly in electing and appointing magistrates or officials.

Amidst all these turmoils, the politicians seem to care nothing for government. No sooner have they disposed of an election, than they set at work preparing for the next one, even for the presidential contest. During a year, at least, from the day of the president's inaugural, the interests of the entire nation center on the nomination of officials for the

public service, and their confirmation by the Senate; and the whole year preceding the expiration of his term the attention of the people is given to speculation and conjectures regarding the coming national elections. And, as every state legislature and every city council go through a like ordeal, comparatively, the people hardly enjoy a day of repose and tranquillity. They are constantly engaged in adjusting political matters, but political matters are never adjusted.

Moreover, when the larger number of public servants have acquired sufficient experience in their official capacity to be the most serviceable to the state, they have to give up their positions to new men who, generally, know nothing of the public service. These changes in the personnel of the government are a great source of errors and trouble; but the politicians call this system: "Giving a chance to the Boys by rotation."

Again, besides certain general laws governing all the states, the constitution and the statutes of each state must conform with the federal laws and constitution. So many different laws are found to be another deep source of annoyance and mischief, principally to traders and merchants; for, although every individual is supposed to know the laws of his country, how is it possible for any one, even the most talented or most learned jurist to keep himself constantly familiar with the statutes of forty-five governments?

As to politics, the American people are divided in four classes. First of all, are those who attempt at making it a lucrative profession; they form a large number of officials and office seekers, and silent operators. The latter, though seeing no chances of ever being elected or appointed, nor desiring an office, if they could get it, are often the most influential men over politics and even, meantime, financial affairs. They, generally, are the bosses of many of the people's candidates, and also of the lobbyists engaged in promoting schemes through legislatures, for the special benefit of rings or corporations. The second class consists of the honest officials and patriotic politicians; although rumor denies their existence. However, it is difficult to believe that all politicians, in the American democracy, are of a like character. The third body is composed of the citizens, who hardly ever fail using an opportunity of exercising their right of citizenship, by voting for good or bad. Then comes a vast number of citizens, indifferent towards the government, and who very seldom vote. Their reason for refraining from exercising their political privileges is that they have no time to give to other men's business; nor could they attend to so much politics without greatly injuring their individual interests.

Is all this not sufficient, at the outset, to prove the weakness of the American system of government? It can hardly be said that the Jeffersonian school of democracy has produced the salutary results which it

had anticipated. Its principal fallacy was to subordinate the general interests of the nation to individualism. The personal ambition of a vast multitude of patriots became, at last, the dominant factor, and the welfare of the country, the least consideration, of politics. Liberties have degenerated into license; and under this rule, citizens, besides politicians, having to depend on their own exertions for self-protection, are gradually giving up disinterestedness and public spirit.

If philosophers or statesmen were called upon to prepare for any state, a system of politics, plausible or admirable in theory, but with a view to foment discord, develop vices, and stir up dangerous animosities among the people, it is extremely doubtful whether they could devise a constitution capable to excel that of the United States of America for the purpose intended. But both the press and the politicians call this system "the government of the people, by the people and for the people." What infamy! Not contented with using their freedom of speech, and political prerogative to gratify their personal ambition, they add slander and insult to abuse, in placing all citizens in their own class. Why do they not call it, at best, "the government of the demagogues, by the demagogues and for the demagogues?" With all their unbounded egotism they might, perhaps, expect an attempt at proving this from a monarchical source, but no more convincing evidence than their own shall be procured. Americans, ask both the

republicans and the democrats what they think of it? The republicans often say that the democratic politicians are thieves, and prove it; and the democrats often say that the republican politicians are thieves, and prove it. Now, look at those men that dare to confront you without blushing. They are the very individuals most demonstratively asserting their competency for a free government, and, who, while denouncing a stronger institution as despotism, are the more sapping the foundation of your republic.

Is it not interesting to find that a political constitution, which supposes the most scrupulous integrity and disinterestedness on the part of all citizens, developes soon or late, in some classes, the opposite vices? When they are told that political corruption is the deadly poison of free governments, they do not seem to care much for a little thing like that, and retort saying: "All the fault you can discover in our republic is corruption," like a sick man, who would remark: "I am perfectly sound and healthy in every respect; the only trouble with me is consumption."

While the masses suffer all kinds of abuses under the Stars and Stripes, the corrupt factions of political parties pride themselves on enjoying the best government on earth. However, it is not everything for the people to know that reforms are wanted. But, as the medical doctor must always find the root and the nature of a disease, before he can successfully treat it, so they cannot hope to regenerate their political

and social state, until they shall seriously and deeply enquire into their case and discover the chief causes of their difficulties.

Led by the same spirit of fairness and moderation that has characterized this work from the beginning, it shall continue examining into the political system of the country, in its complex state, and endeavor to point out all its most dangerous evils, and explain their effects upon the nation. In every corrupt republic, vice, abuse and tyranny are carried on or encouraged by the very institutions which the people have mostly to depend upon for their welfare and their protection. Therefore, besides continuing to refute the assertions of republicans against the monarchies, the press, the educatory system, the suffrage, the legislative, the judicial and the executive branches of the republic must form the main subjects of our next consideration.

ELOQUENCE, FREE PRESS, AND FREE SPEECH.

Absolute monarchies have always been noted for a scarcity of political orators. Under those governments, the will of the ruler, leaves very little ground for parliamentary oratory or persuasive exertion. On the contrary, democracies can justly boast of the most celebrated speakers, as the resource of eloquence, being the popular substitute for one man's authority

is, next to civic virtue, the principal motive power of a free constitution.

In the earlier times of the ancient republics, there was nothing remarkable in the oratorical displays of their statesmen; but if public speakers were, then, comparatively few, a large multitude of men were found, whose virtues were far more serviceable to the strength and to the stability of free institutions than eloquence proved in later ages.

It is in the declining period of a republic wherein a remnant of civic vitality is still struggling against its fatal disease, that the orator can at best advantage employ his lofty genius. His power, on such occasion, seems to grow, as vices and crimes spread in the nation, and the vigor of the constitution decreases. In denouncing the actions of demagogues, and exhorting the masses to the practicing of virtue; in praying to the Ruler of the Universe for the preservation of public morals and for the maintenance of the commonwealth; in contemplating, in his imagination, an ideal state which can never be established on earth, he wins public admiration, and attains his highest degree of perfection. Meanwhile the democratic soil becomes extremely fertile in public speakers or writers of all characters. As, when epidemic diseases are raging, physicians and charlatans alike offer the sick their medical services, so do, in a corrupt democracy, both the virtuous orators and the demagogues rival one another, by speech or by writing, at pretending to reform political and social abuses, and alleviate

the woes of the people. Almost every one of them, in endeavoring to control the destinies of his countrymen, succeeds in gaining a number of adherents to his side; and this vigorous contest, for good or evil, carried by the most astute, the most talented, and the most active men in the country, always results in breaking the nation into dangerous factions. It soon becomes evident that the commonwealth, which so many individuals pretend to regenerate, has, at last, grown so corrupt, that it can never be saved from ruin by the most transcendent eloquence. Oratory, both in Athens and in Rome, was superseded by the rule of imperialism, for rescuing the people's interests from the hands of republican officials, and restoring justice and order. Demosthenes, after upsetting, for a time the designs of Philip of Macedon, after fulminating Eschines and other traitors of democratic pretensions, yielded his oral power to the authority of King Alexander who then became the savior and the chief of all the Grecian republics.

Cicero's efforts were of no avail against the corruption of his time, and he fell victim of those whom his eloquence had annoyed but failed to convince. The Roman republic had expired when Fulvia pierced the tongue of her most virtuous orator.

The public men of Sparta were the most laconic speakers in the world. The constitution which her inhabitants had received from Lycurgus outlined for all time to come the policy of their government and their duties towards it. Under this institution, partly

royal and partly democratic, no harangues, or remonstrances, or exhortations, were deemed necessary to inspire men with love for their country and veneration for the gods. Even the devotion of women to the commonwealth surpassed, by far, their feelings for their own children.

In the English democracy, Cromwell talked constantly against absolute authority, and pretended to cherish the liberties of all men. But, meantime, this astute and omnipotent protector was despotic enough to substitute his own will for parliamentary debates, that had been the main cause of the people's bloody struggles, and which he had promised them as the price of the death of King Charles the First. It was after monarchy had been restored in England, and especially when the nation had received its new Constitution, known as "Magna Charta," and in the reign of George the Second and under the ministry of Walpole, that parliamentary eloquence was fairly inaugurated; and that it has been, from the outset, successfully carried till the present time, is well known. In this constitutional monarchy, as in all others, the representatives of the people have the right to give in the most energetic and heated discussion of public affairs; but none of them thinks it his duty or a necessity to exhort others to virtue, or see any reason to remonstrate against vices. The prompt and excellent execution of the laws produces all the result that can be expected in that direction, without recourse to any special oratory, and without calling

public indignation meetings. Statesmen may differ in opinions, as well as in any democracy, and may even become most determined and antagonistic rivals, but from their differences and animated debates come out the best laws for the people.

In the last century, the republicans of France, in their earnest efforts at founding a fraternal democracy, or an ideal constitution for all the nations of the world, succeeded in cutting one another's throats nicely, while singing the Marseillaise hymn, or delivering orations amidst cries of "equality and liberty." Almost all notable men who were sent to the guillotine had been distinguished speakers. The French people, after listening to a great deal of pathetic and brilliant declamation, found, at last, their salvation in monarchy.

In our times, under all constitutional governments oral eloquence of a high national character is declining, not from a scarcity of talents, but from the fact that the power of the press is gradually taking its place. In constitutional monarchies, the press, although enjoying a vast amount of liberty, and exercising a wonderful influence over politics and society, has no unlimited power, but, like all other careers or professions, is justly bound to respect the sovereign authority of the nation, and refrain from tyrannizing any individual or any classes in the nation.

A people sometimes loudly clamor for an unbounded freedom of speech and writing, and when they have it, they find themselves without protection against its

abusive license. In the American commonwealth the press is virtually the government of the people. Editors of the leading papers, attempting to educate all classes, to form and govern public opinion, have but little fear of the laws, by which they are supposed, as well as all other individuals, to be governed. If they wish to make an unjust use of the means at their disposal, what power has the democracy to curb their tyrannical insolence? How can penalties be inflicted upon them, as the president, the governors, the legislators, the judges, and all the government officials or office seekers, whose political success and subsistence greatly depend on the attitude and caprices of the press towards them, become the most loyal, the most obedient, and the most servile subjects of this mighty institution?

In a democracy, the only condition under which the masses of the people could fairly pretend to enjoy the liberty of the press, would be the establishment of public papers, supported by the government, and to which any citizen could have access, free of charge, to express his opinions, or defend himself against slanders or other like abuses. With the present system, all newspapers, being but private institutions, are published for private interests and evidently the people are placed at their mercy.

That there are, in circulation, many respectable sheets, can not be denied; but these are said to be dull and devoid of much interest. The others specially endeavor to keep the masses in ignorance, while

pretending to enlighten them, and gain popularity and patronage by fascinating the minds with sensational appeals to vices. They incessantly refer to liberty, and man's rights, but they are very cautious not to explain the true meaning of such words. What are they but catalogues of false statements, of scandals of all descriptions, of silly and vile literature, buffoonery and slangs, always inclined to ridicule or villify people or things, when there is no money in sight by praising them. But, for a dollar or less they will publish and editorially recommend almost anything, whether true or false. Recognizing no authority but their own pen they often give away private or family affairs, which do not concern the public, and take delight in fomenting troubles or difficulties without regard to the people's good or public decency. Those instruments of wickedness and iniquities are often most unmercifully employed against defenseless citizens. Men attacked, outraged and slandered by the press, if deprived of a printing establishment, find it a difficult task to rival an institution bound by mutual agreement to reciprocal protection against any citizen's effort to have redress. Knowing that they cannot depend upon obtaining justice in the law-courts, they have to suffer all kinds of abuses in face of all the judicial magistrates of the country. The use of pistols, which is sometimes resorted to by the injured party can only aggravate his case.

Nor has the press any right even to attack the character of ex-convicts, in private difficulties, by

reminding the public of their past records. Yet how often does it exercise the utmost tyranny in that direction? The object of punishing crimes is not only to inflict a penalty on a convicted malefactor, and to protect society, but also to reform him. When any individual has served his term of imprisonment, he is supposed to have sufficiently atoned for his deed and be regenerated. And, even if he is to forfeit his political privileges, having to earn a living and needing all possible encouragement to continue in the path of good behavior, justice and charity demand that his past life never be publicly advertised, unless he should again enter into the criminal career.

In order to show themselves alive to public interests, they always obstruct the course of justice. No sooner is a crime of any character rumored than the press sets at work to secure all particulars related to it for publication. This is one of the circumstances in which the newspapers mostly emulate one another for despatch and indiscretion. Their correspondents must also interview the accused to have a hearing from him in advance of the court and of the lawyers. In consequence of such abuses, when the case is called for trial, the community is so well informed touching all its details that the court always experiences the greatest difficulty to get men to serve as jurors, who have not already formed an opinion regarding it, and is forced to the alternate course of employing rogues and individuals that cannot read. In some cases weeks are consumed to impanel a jury.

Moreover such premature publications furnish criminals the best opportunities of guarding themselves against public vigilance and of evading justice, at least for a time, while they cause legal authorities to spend larger sums of money for their arrest than they would, had the press remained silent on the subject till the accused are incarcerated.

In all well governed countries, the press has to receive its information regarding all matters of a legal character, from the judiciary department; and this is practiced even in Turkey, China and Japan. But what do the papers of the land of the free care for justice or public good, so long as they can, by means of sensational news, secure a few cents from readers? Not satisfied with their practicing such abuses, they may intimidate the judges on their bench, by commenting on the proceedings of pending legal cases, either civil or criminal, and succeed in influencing the ruling of the courts and the verdict of juries. Beside, the press, by unscrupulously running down the European institutions and exaggerating its statements in praising its own, is often morally responsible for the cruel disappointments felt by a great many immigrants to the United States, for their misdeeds, and the troubles in which some of them become involved.

A great portion of the American press instructs its readers against the teachings of any church, but meanwhile, dictates to them what they should believe and disbelieve; and all its doctrines are directed to strengthen its power.

Are not some papers which pretend to work incessantly for the public good, the organs of corrupt rings or rapacious politicians, and the chief monopoly of all monopolies? Do they not constantly conspire or lead conspiracies against the people? Such is the character of that tremendous engine of intellectual and moral destruction that represents itself as the most worthy public educator and most energetic champion of popular rights. When, in any country, public sentiment flows greatly from such a poisonous source, is it a wonder that corruption should make rapid progress among the people?

As the monarch's true interests are identical with the prosperity of his people, so is the welfare of a large portion of the republican or democratic press in perfect accord with corrupt politics; and as Demosthenes and Cicero always clamored for the continuance of a democratic constitution, the former in Athens, and the latter in Rome, with no other object but gratifying their personal ambition and oratorical talents, so do public papers in modern republics strongly adhere to their permanency because these governments assure them a supreme authority over all other classes of society.

Besides free press, one of the most dangerous liberties of the American republic is free speech. The privilege which anyone enjoys in censuring the laws, after they are enacted, and disrespecting or insulting their magistrates, naturally invites persons inclined to mischief to defy them and terrorize society. In

making treason consist only in the act of carrying on war against the country, the constitution permits and even assists deliberations or plots, and also rebellion, against the government, for war must be decided upon by speech, before it can be inaugurated.

THE PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION.

The object of education is the improvement of human beings, and is intended to render both man and woman capable of fulfilling their duties to their Creator, to their country, and to themselves. In order to accomplish this end, the educatory system of a nation must principally aim at exercising the will of individuals to subdue the empire of their vicious propensities; and consequently their mere intellectual and physical development must be subordinate to moral principles. This theory has been proclaimed by the most profound moralists and the wisest legislators of all ages, as the most effective in enabling man to enjoy all his rights and privileges without injuring others.

According to a set of people, what more fortunate lot can fall to mortals than their being born under a democracy? Besides regarding themselves superior in all respects to others, they possess, in their minds, all the best characteristics of mankind without any of its defects. But, why should they be immaculate? Are they not of the same nature as all

other people? Or, is man's constitution becoming regenerated after being transplanted from a monarchy to a republic? Or is there in the atmosphere of democratic or republican politics a celestial breeze that blows, vice out, and virtue in, the breast of human beings? What do they mean by man's competence for a free government? It is true love of his country, or his love of himself and his liberty to subject the public welfare to his personal interests, or his apathy that renders him contented and loyal, under a régime of vice and abuse? What is their education? Their children are not, like others, reared in monarchies, submitted to any rule of discipline or behavior. They are instructed to abhor from obedience and restraint, and to follow, in all things, the caprices of their will. They are taught to believe that their fathers or forefathers, knew everything, invented everything, and that God's Green Earth, as they call it, is indebted to them for its progress and enlightenment. They are naturally led by the utterances, by the lessons and examples of their educators to praise themselves and run down all others, and are told that citizens, born under democratic institutions, are the model people, and all other nations must copy from them to be right in fashion.

Moreover, the teachings of their schools and of the press, while filling the minds of children, men and women with false ideas of independence and freedom, conceit and self-esteem, are working, directly or indirectly, to corrupt their hearts by exciting or feeding

their passions, without, in any way, developing their virtues. Most of the public educators of republics are no more capable of rearing a people for democracy than the most illiterate man is fit to write a book on jurisprudence, or fill prescriptions in a pharmacy; nor do they seem to know even only the preliminary notions of true liberty and justice, essential to build up a great and righteous nation.

It is acknowledged by all men, even by religious people of all creeds, that a scholastic course, consisting of writing, book-keeping, rules of fractions, and rules of interest and compound interest, is necessary in any civilized state; nor is the importance of money denied or its value underestimated; but it is justly asserted that this alone cannot promote justice or public spirit. There are other things in this world, which, however, being far more necessary still to human existence than money or worldly riches, could not be given to a people as the main subject of their attention or study without accomplishing their ruin; and money is one of those very things that will sufficiently maintain a hold on man's affection without the aid of education and without the special policy of a government. Let it be remembered that Lycurgus, the great legislator of Sparta, perceiving the demoralizing effects of money depreciated its value by substituting iron for gold, as a commercial exchange; and by thus inspiring the Lacedæmonians with disgust for it, he succeeded to stimulate and preserve their patriotism for many centuries. Yet,

despite this wise legislation, some of their public men became so rapacious as to sell the interests of their country. Now, republicans, if individuals reared from their childhood under a system of education best calculated to inspire them with patriotism and fidelity become untrue to their trusts, what in the line of corruption can not be expected from others who are taught to consider the idea of money as their chief principle? Solon, Numa Pompilius, Confucius, Alfred, Louis IX, Henry IV, and also the legislators of the modern monarchies, although none of them adopted such extreme measures as the Spartan statesman, have succeeded to subject, at least in a great measure, the acquisition of riches to justice and even to public spirit. In the United States, almost all the people talk constantly of money, and worship money. In Europe they make money, they are fond of money too, but, meanwhile, think and speak of something else. What sublime inspiration can arise from a system of education directing both mind and heart of man completely to the accumulation of riches and to extravagancies? How can it incite people to adhere to the principles of an ideal democracy, of a paradise on earth? Are the sentiments of greediness, of personal ambition, of jealousy and envy, which the strong desire of riches excites, consistent with brotherly love and civic virtue? It is not doubted that pupils of such schools be competent to preserve their own material interests; but their education which has no restraining power over human nature can not

fortify them to resist temptation in their management of public affairs, or control their passions, or the caprices of their will. Nothing is easier than one's self-government, when he can bear sway in all things; but it is only in the task of conforming his will and his actions to other men's ideas and to the general interests of a community that his competency for it can be tested.

Deprived of all moral lessons, what enjoyments can men contemplate but the pleasures which vices suggest and money can procure? If the acquisition of riches must be considered paramount to all other things, on what basis can the public educators hope that the citizens of the Commonwealth will be animated with disinterestedness and true patriotism, which is indispensable for the success and for the maintenance of democratic institutions? It is evident that a system of education excluding from it all moral doctrines, can not but insure the triumph of vices over virtue.

In the beginning we have seen that mankind can be fairly divided into three classes, with regard to morals:—There are those who can always lead a respectable life without severe laws or strong government; others, who always show a disposition to defy the established authority. Let it be now supposed that the former be most numerous, even in any republic, that the great majority of republicans or democrats throughout the world exhibit by their behavior the great amount of good in mankind, and deserve much adulation to remain morally intact under

their free institutions. Nevertheless they must bear in mind that in addition to that incorrigible class, there is a large portion of people whose moral character is formed by education; then, it is for the special improvement of this element of the population and for the protection of the entire community, that a restraining school is wanted, even without regard to future life. And on this very point, it is intended to demonstrate the dangerous deficiency of the educatory system of a democracy, in any country, resting upon the ideas of such philosophers as Voltaire, Rousseau and Thomas Paine. Recognizing, as at the outset, that all nations are about alike regarding the main characteristics of mankind, we will endeavor, with moderation, to point out the effects of bad education on some persons, whatever their nationality, and show that, had all the people depended on their schools and on their press, rather than on their nature, for good behavior, they would be false to their God, to their country and to themselves.

Born for sovereignty, the democrat shows in his early youth his ability for license and for command. At the age of two or three years he insists on having honey, or syrup, or pie, the first thing at his meals, and exercises his royal prerogative by making all possible noise at the table, in the parlor, in the study or in the music-room. Having reached the age of six, if his father or mother opposes his will in any case, he at once expresses his dissent, by saying: "You don't know anything about it," or, "if you try that game on

me you will get left," and by the use of another slang peremptorily reminds them of their own business. Then the parents, carried by exultation over his repartee and self-asserting bossism, exhibit their gratification at the bright prospects of their rising son. He commences early running about the streets and very soon acquires all the characteristics of excellent breeding. Who can swear, curse or use any profane language more than he? Destined to enjoy the precious privilege of insulting the president, the governors, the judges or any of the other magistrates of his country, he practices the rules of rudeness, nor is he very scrupulous in the choice of his expressions even when he addresses old age.

It is well known that democracy practically lowers the standard of manners and usages, not only among children, but among grown people of any age, as we shall further see. The young democrat amazes every monarchist by his precocious knowledge of many things, which, for his own good he ought to ignore, and by ignoring much of what he ought to know. Having grown stiff through his first lessons on freedom, he is unable to bow before any one. At the age of ten or twelve he is very apt to smoke and chew tobacco; he is making wonderful progress in the art of whistling, which he practices wherever he goes, to the delight of his parents, and to the entire indifference of the natives. Taught by the precepts of his education that money is the first principle on earth, and can alone insure his happiness, pure materialism

becomes his religion, the dollar is his god; and he is strongly inclined to prodigality and deviltry. However, he is not bad at heart; he can be moved, and can shed tears at times from affection, sympathy, grief or repentance; he may be charitable, an amiable companion; he is, intrinsically, as good as a great many others of good behavior, and like a young plant he could be yet reformed under proper management. But bad education, which makes him obey the command of his vices, often gives him the airs of a ferocious barbarian, and some times leads him to ruin. At fifteen he endeavors to get money before knowing how to earn it, and shows dispositions for mere speculative schemes, which he is likely to retain all his life; he may scratch his face with a razor or a knife to force a beard to grow before its natural time of maturity, in order to appear older than he really is, and adopts the manners of a man. From the age of eighteen he may lead a very fast life. As a sovereign, having no law or authority to obey, he commences very early in life carrying arms to defend himself. It is not then very surprising that whenever His Majesty is but slightly offended by anyone, not being trained to control himself, and to forbear and forgive his fellow-citizen's faults he be too hasty to shoot, and even kill, sometimes, an innocent and harmless person, or one that might not deserve but a very light penalty.

When he is asked: "Who or what protects you?" He cries out: "No one protects me, I am a demo-

crat, and can protect myself." He undoubtedly tells the truth in saying that no one protects him. When he adds: "I am a democrat and can protect myself," he exhibits his conceit and his pedantry, if he means that he is so competent for a free government, that he needs no power over him, because his education, which has taught him to yield and yield promptly to the rule of his passions, was apt to render him the most incapable of all men for self-government. But he becomes extremely witty if he intends to convey the idea that in the absence of a government able to afford him protection, he is compelled to take care of himself.

Like all others they have their large number of true friends, magnanimous and brave men, and also their cowards. The latter are most dangerous enemies. Having the constant habit of carrying concealed weapons, they take advantage of their rivals by shooting them on the least provocation, and sometimes in their back. Their use of the pistol or of the shotgun for having redress, or executing their will, is carried by men of all classes who assign it to the strength of their nerves and to their intelligence.

What a striking contrast in the usages and manners of nations! When Germans or Frenchmen of good standing are seriously insulted, they generally resent the affront by challenging the offender to fight a duel; and if the latter refuses to meet his opponent on the field of honor, the matter is then dropped, for they are not to kill any one without giving him a

chance to defend himself, and exposing their own life to danger. However, one at whom the gauntlet is thrown, finds himself confronted by a very vexatious dilemma; if he accepts the challenge he is considered as a criminal by law, and if he refuses to fight, he ranks in the minds of most people, among the cowards. This chivalric but vain and pedantic method of adjusting difficulties is censurable and irrational even from the only fact that the effusion of blood or death, in duels, can not amend any wrongs, nor convert a falsehood into truth, or truth into falsehood. Nevertheless, it is far more respectable than shooting without warning. When duels are fought with pistols, these weapons are sometimes loaded with nothing but powder; and in such cases, both of the belligerent parties survive their encounter to enjoy the enviable reputation of intrepid combatants.

The English or Canadian methods of having recourse to law in serious cases, is the most commendable. Fistic combats among British and Canadian people are not of very rare occurrence, but none of them, except a few murderers, carries or thinks of using a pistol or any other dangerous weapon to avenge his honor, or secure redress, even from his worst enemies. Nor can it be denied that they rank among the most robust and brave men in the world.

After many years of dissipation, gambling, betting on elections and horse races, through which our democratic sovereign may have spent a large fortune inherited from his family, considering himself still a

subject fit for conjugal felicity, he may enter into married life. But in many like cases, the wedding is soon followed by a separation or a decree of divorce obtained by the young wife on the ground of cruel treatment or other charges.

In the United States of America, the best scholars owe their learning to their talents, or to their laborious studies, or to foreign schools, rather than to the educational establishments of the country. The American system is defective in two principal ways: First, it supposes the human mind more powerful than it really is, and secondly, both the professors and the pupils are anxious to get through the study of all things, with the rapidity of steam and electricity. They unreasonably expect that in two or three years they are capable of acquiring a thorough knowledge of several important subjects, the mere elements of which require, in Europe, seven or eight years of arduous exertion from the student. Consequently, the brightest of them, some times, after going through a large mass of books of all sorts, know but very little more than reading, writing and arithmetic.

What else can be expected from School-Boards elected by the people? Their members who ought to be men of the highest culture, are often comparatively ignorant.

That the wreckless conduct of a large portion of men has incited, in a great measure, the women to look for their own interests is illustrated by the

following article expressing their opinion upon that subject through one of their chief leaders:

AN ERA OF UNMARRIED WOMEN.

(Chicago Tribune.)

"Susan B. Anthony is of the opinion that we are on the verge of an era of unmarried women. Our civilization, she says, is changing. Daughters can not be supported at home, and there is nothing there to busy them. The women used to spin and weave, make carpets and soap, but now all that is done for them in the factories. Young men do not make enough money to support their wives, and there is such a craze for dissipation among them that the women would rather go into a store for almost nothing than to marry."

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

Woman as well as man has a noble mission to fulfill in this world. If man can philosophize, build up, command and conquer, woman can boast with like pride, of rearing the philosopher, the conqueror, the ruler, and teaching them the first lessons of their existence. She exerts, especially at a certain time, a wonderful power upon her stronger companion in life.

There is nothing that can be more serviceable or detrimental to man's moral development than the lessons or examples he receives at home in his early youth. These teachings will, in most cases, produce on his nature, impressions so strong, that they may remain characteristic in him after attaining his age of maturity. It is evident that upon the woman's principles of education and behavior largely depend the destinies of man and states alike. She can look with the highest degree of personal gratification at her son exalting himself in the path of equity and prosperity; and his growing success, which must partly be assigned to her love and her sacrifices for him, is the crown of her own life. Moreover, she has a just claim to the title of public benefactress in every well-ordered society.

But what is more unnatural than the existence, and more deplorable than the constant increase, of that class of women, who, under the pretense of transcendent virtue, or of deep concern for the moral welfare of the country, denounce political and social abuses, and declare themselves the regenerators of men, the champions of public morality and the advocates, not of woman's, but of man's rights, for their sex. It is unfortunately true that a great many men, especially in democratic republics, are in great need of a thorough reformation. Yet, those philosophical women, those living virtues, if they are capable of thinking for a moment, will perceive at once, that not only men, but large numbers of their sisters, too,

need severe reprehension. Should they all cultivate in their children, (when they have any) principles of obedience, moderation, economy and good manners, they would not find as much necessity of reforming men as they do in our times.

Girls are now receiving the same kind of education as boys. What is more ridiculous than that they should devote much time to the study of Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry, Statics; and what use do they make of Medicine and Anatomy?

They are taught at home principally to look pretty and attractive, dress extravagantly, and regard domestic work, not with indifference, but with the utmost contempt.

The daughters of people of scanty or moderate means learn Book-keeping, Shorthand and Typewriting for securing positions in stores or in business offices, but it is said that their earnings are small, and half the time they are unemployed.

The newspapers call the American girl the greatest of all modern creations. In what she excels English, Canadian, French, or other foreign girls, they say not; but they are constantly and indiscriminately bestowing upon American women, regardless of the respectability of any class, the same terms of adulation only worthy of the most frivolous persons; they tell us how pretty, how fascinating they are; they refer to their royal appearance and to their display of fine clothes, jewelry and diamonds, in public; but they stupidly omit telling us what they are good for. In

defense of their honor, it may fairly be said, that the world, however, knows something about the intrinsic and excellent qualities, that are hidden under the veil of those perishable beauties, and, which, natural to their sex in all nations, have not, through their system of education, yet been but very imperfectly developed.

There is nothing very surprising that girls, or women placed under such demoralizing influences should wander from the path of their natural avocation, to seek, under vain pretexts, notoriety and public admiration, and should, in their turn, largely contribute to that very relaxation of public morals for which they justly lament. How can it be denied that this social condition is partly owing to the woman's false ideas of independence and rights, and to their neglecting or renouncing those very duties which in reason and public decency devolve upon them, but which they boldly and proudly refuse to perform?

It is hardly credible that men of even but little political knowledge would uphold such wrongs which some women are pleased to call their rights. How can they ever hope to improve their condition by carrying the profession of politics, as this is one of the main causes of men's demoralization, under the American Constitution? In presuming that they could rescue, by means of the ballot, the free institutions of their country from the marshes into which the voting and the elections of men have plunged it, they are wandering like that woman, who, having long suffered

from her husband's habitual drunkenness, would, at last, imitate his example by indulging too in the frequent use of intoxicating drinks, with a view to restoring domestic happiness. In the first place they could not vote intelligently unless they should devote almost their whole time to the study of politics, and attend to public meetings and conventions; nor could they do so without neglecting their other imperative duties? Let the advocates of women's suffrage say whether they would, on every occasion, vote on the side of their husbands, or whether they would sometimes, politically differ with them. In the former case their votes would be useless, because of their being controlled by others, and in the latter case the difference of ideas between men and wives would become fruitful of serious family troubles; besides, they would be incessantly involved in the compromising turmoils of cabal, intrigues and dissensions. Moreover, women are not entitled to suffrage because they are not, mentally and physically, constituted to lead masses. To their amiable qualities, attractions and perception are seldom united tenacity of purpose and reliable judgment. Had nature given them such powers and the rights they claim, they could not bear man under their present physical organization; therefore their political enfranchisement could not be but an enlarged source of mischief and vices in society.

The advocates of man's rights for women, demand that they be allowed to rival men in all paths of life,

alleging that nothing can prevent them, from embracing any study or profession, or even from doing any mechanical labor that has until now exclusively belonged to the man's domain. Educated to cherish an aversion for moderation, economy, conjugal ties, and their natural mission on earth, they are at a loss to determine or find that state of life which could bring them the most satisfaction and contentment. It may be that their fondness for traveling would render them famous explorers or geographers, or their liking for the streets would make them excellent city surveyors or inspectors. A great many are already assisting engineers and architects in drawing out plans for buildings, railroads and bridges, and filling positions in public offices, private offices, or as private secretaries. Some of them are barbers or keep shooting galleries for the public. But how would they look climbing up ladders to the top of buildings, of lofty towers or spires, or in the masts of ships, especially in a raging storm, or diving to the bottom of the seas, or descending in coal mines, and in excavations for sewers, or going down rivers and rapids on rafts, exposed to damp and all the inclemencies of the seasons? Would such occupations be very consistent with the peculiarities of their sex, and how long could they resist their effects? Should they ever try all the experiments of man's lot in life, they might soon become reconciled with their fortune, and show better disposition to perform their natural duties. Besides fulfilling their main obligations, what greater service

could they render to their country, and what could more entitle them to their husband's affection than their improving the Cuisine? For they are no more skilled in the culinary art, than in that of governing. Moreover, nations can well afford to dispense with the wisdom of any political or progressive woman of the age. Public meetings could be safely deprived of the agreeableness of their presence, or of the convincing charms of their oratory. Man alone is capable of presiding over popular assemblies, of confronting the tumult of vast multitudes, and of leading in politics, and at the forum, as on the battle-fields, while the woman well deserves his protection, if she performs, quietly at home, her share of philanthropic work.

Generally speaking, when a woman is attracting public attention, she is not, to say the least, productive of any good to society. Her retirement from public life, her modest and prudent behavior, as a woman, a wife, and a mother, while endearing her to her family, her relatives and her friends, will do more to preserve the purity of social morals than anything else she could imagine, for she can no more regenerate man, after he has reached the age of manhood, than she could correct the deformities of an old tree. The majority of that set of women, although married, bear no children, nor propose to be afflicted by the so-called burden of procreation. These reformers will break men financially and involve them in civil or criminal law-suits, rather than break them

out of their bad habits, as they aim chiefly at living in a style of splendor and extravagance; nor are they fit for anything but spending all the money their husbands can bring home. Woe unto the men that encourage them in such pursuits! And may those women perceive their errors and adopt better principles! As to their sex, the wants more felt, in this régime of material progress, instead of women-reformers, are, restrained girls, moderate women, more wives, and more excellent wives, more mothers, and more excellent mothers.

The attention of all the leaders of woman's suffrage, and of all patriotic women, in the American republic, is especially called to the fact, that nothing can furnish a state more vigor and stability than the rearing of a large multitude of children.

A virtuous woman, who respects herself, differs in appearances from those who care but for men's admiration, flatteries and parading on the streets, with painted faces, and loaded with jewelry and diamonds. If after a few years of married life nature has refused her children, and if she is still animated with zeal for man's welfare and public morals, she can not do better than adopting some poor orphan for whom to become a devoted and exemplary mother. In performing such acts of charity or the like, she would render society a far greater service than she could by discoursing on the political questions of the times, or preparing or attending a course of lectures on woman's suffrage, or man's rights. In raising the child of one

of her sex, whose woes she wishes so much to alleviate, she would exhibit far more humane feeling than by bestowing her affection on a parrot, or a dog; or would act much more honorably than by living in idleness, reading obscene or silly novels, or spending her time and money away from home, while her husband labors like a slave for the support of his family. Let her consider whether she would not accomplish more success, in her noble endeavors, by rearing a man from childhood, than by attempting to reform one who has grown so old and so hardened in vices, that he lies beyond all hope of regeneracy.

If a woman has the sole ambition of becoming the center of attraction in her family; if she is attentive to the moral education of her children, when her periods of natural disabilities are considered, she has enough to do at home without assuming the arduous task of looking into state affairs, for which, as a rule, she is not more fit than a man is for nursing babies. If she is devoted to her husband, and has no one to love but him; if she is willing to share his prosperity and his adversities alike, and in any state of fortune remains true and faithful to him; at last, if she has no aspiration, with regard to this world, but to promote the incomparable advantages of domestic felicity, she is fulfilling her mission on earth in the most laudable manner, and wins the profound respect and the admiration of all sensible and fairly disposed people.

DIVORCES.

It is not alone the dissipation of boys and of men, the vices of politics, the agitation of women's rights, but the large number, and alarming increase of petitions for divorces, that illustrate the deplorable influences exerted by the public schools, and the democratic constitution of the republic, upon the character of society. The extreme facilities with which such decrees have been obtained, has filled the country with widows whose, one, two, three or four, husbands are still alive; and the same can be said of widowers. After a few years or even only a few months of married life, alleged incompatibility of character, a slight misdemeanor, or a mere caprice, may be considered a sufficient cause for separation. The trouble, at the outset, is that each of them wishes to govern, and neither of them wants to obey the other; nor do they know their reciprocal duties, despite all their pretensions to knowledge and good behavior, because they have not received sufficient moral education. Obedience, the chief duty of man to his country, and of the woman to her husband, is held in contempt by them. And, right here, a very fair idea may be formed of the effects produced by the sentiments of millions of Sovereigns and as many Queens, upon the moral condition of the country, when every one of them attempts to enforce his own will. Is this alone not sufficient to show the preference of entire ignorance to bad education?

If either one wishes a divorce, and the other objects to it, or if both of them are willing to be separated, a ground for petition is soon made up to conform to the law, such as desertion, unjust treatment, infidelity, indignities, or meanness of any imaginable kind. They say: "If man and wife can not agree together, they had better be divorced;" but if a new contract of marriage were not anticipated following the decree of divorce, by either one, or both of the parties, there is but little doubt that married people, in the United States, would endeavor to live more harmoniously than they do. But to this hypothesis they respond, "We must obey the laws of Scriptures which command us to marry and multiply." They are all strictly law-abiding people whenever their will is suited. They have less objection to the multiplication of marriages, than to progeny; and it is among them that we notice the fewest children.

It is impossible to deny that moral education alone can enable the most of married persons to overpower their caprices, or their vicious propensities, which are the main causes of divorce scandals.

Why is it that in Canada, in England, and in all monarchies of Europe, there are but few divorces, comparatively? Nevertheless, are there more murders of husbands and wives, in any of those countries, than in the United States? Besides, foreign women are more noted for fecundity than those of the great republic; nor has the latter a higher title to chastity than any of the former countries.

The city of Chicago, the states of Indiana and South Dakota, offer people the greatest advantages for obtaining decrees of separation, and in consequence of this those places swarm with divorce seekers. Some lawyers are doing a very extensive business in that line; they even advertise it, as strictly confidential, promptly attended to, and speedily adjusted, with satisfaction guaranteed. Some of the office buildings are extremely accommodating to the public. On the one side of the hall they perform the marriage ceremony, and on the other, they grant divorces. And immediately after the wedding, the couple are, sometimes, presented with business cards from a divorce lawyer.

The next article from an American paper containing opinions regarding the ideas, the ways and the notions of a large number of girls and women in the American republic, shows how sophisticated institutions can lead a people astray:

WOMEN OF THE AGE.

“Even Kate Field, who has in a measure stood sponsor for women in their struggle for public and intellectual recognition, joins in a cry too frequently heard in disparagement of high sounding essays at summer college graduations. The question of the fitness of the college girls to be useful wives is raised in such way as to give them the worst of the implied

answer. Such talk is surprising and unbecoming from Miss Field. The time for its indulgence is past. Women, young and old, are making a way for themselves nowadays, and there are many departments of college work eminently more suited to them than to their gentlemen rivals. Women suffer less physically from the extended college course than men do. The physical régime of the school is more in accordance with the intended routine of woman's life than that of a man's. No one has ever been able to prove satisfactorily that women of education make less desirable wives or less devoted mothers than those of very modest intellectual attainments. Even if this were true, it would have little influence upon the women of this age who have imbibed the spirit of glory winning, and are holding their own with men in some intellectual pursuits, following them closely in others, and surpassing them in a few. This spirit of the times is characterized by independence. To be independent we must be informed. To be informed we must enter the list. Women have learned the lesson."

SUFFRAGE.

INEQUALITY OF FORTUNES.

According to the republican and democratic press, the free and frequent exercise of the ballot, possesses very wonderful powers in promoting the cause of

humanity. It is the most infallible remedy prescribed by this political Esculapius to alleviate the woes and heal the wounds of the people inflicted upon them by the rule of despotism; it is most effective in raising all men from a state of ignorance, pauperism, degradation and servitude, to opulence, honor and felicity. Until about the year 1875, of all the civilized countries, the United States had justly been considered as the most favorable for all classes of workmen; for no sooner had they landed on its shores than they found employment at good wages; nor were they but very seldom afterwards without occupation. This great advantage was assigned by the press to the wisdom of their free institutions; and the emigrants from Europe newly emerged from social inferiority to find themselves placed on a political level with the natives, and elated by the bright prospects of improving their condition, were naturally disposed to corroborate the assertions of Americans imputing the poverty of the laboring elements of foreign countries to the rule of monarchies. Their free citizenship, which was to be for them a great source of revenue, and their contentment, did much then to influence certain classes in Europe to find still more fault, and clamor the louder against their respective governments.

But, only in the last twenty years, what revolution has taken place in the social condition of the American people, although their form of government has remained the same! Are the working classes of the

great republic as well satisfied with their means of support, and as much encouraged, now, by appearances, as they were before that time? Notwithstanding the immense resources of the country, and all the colossal fortunes which have been accumulated in that period, have they not had occasion, not only to feel their hardship increased, but, to see themselves humbled and crushed under their institutions, of supposed equality, economy and benevolence? When we first pointed out the signs of that inequality of fortunes, which, though unforeseen by them until a few years ago, sprung up at last in the land of equality and freedom, the press ascribed this phenomenon to the people's fault for neglecting their duties as voters, arguing that should suffrage be exercised by all men, it could maintain a perfect equilibrium in the social and political condition of their country.

What have the artist, the scientist, the merchant and the mechanic gained by the frequent use of the ballot? The press in working up the loyalty of the people to its authority incessantly reminds them of the great principle of the American constitution which opens the state offices to all men alike. Is it possible that some future day those poor toilers will occupy a presidential, or a gubernatorial or a senatorial, chair. May such hopes be realized by every laborer in the land of the free! But what encouraging prospects, what refreshing expectations for those who have, till that time, to earn a scanty livelihood, and even that of a family, and could not subsist

unless he constantly contributes by hard labor to the wealth of other more fortunate democrats? Is it not cruel for him, amidst his tribulations and trials, to gaze at one chance in fifteen million, at something almost as impossible as anything can be? Let it be supposed yet that a few would occupy public positions, what good would this do the masses that would stay out. How many farmers or workmen have filled state offices, even only those of constable, or valet, or impounder, since the American democracy was founded? If occasionally a workman should secure one, he could not hold it, no matter how honest and serviceable, and would be compelled to go back to farming or resuming the use of his tools, as the same principle that puts a rascal in office, removes a good man from it. In the United States, public offices are generally held by lawyers, or men who have no profession, no trade, by men who do not propose to work for a living, if they can subsist on the government, or so long as they can be carried through life by their wit or their cheek, or by hook or crook.

Voltaire, Rousseau, Paine, Victor Hugo, and other republican writers, were so narrow-minded or so unfair as to see inequality of condition, poverty, and all vicissitudes of human life, but in monarchies. Practically, none of those whose names are mentioned knew anything of republics, as they never lived under them, except in the United States, at the outset of its free government, or in Switzerland, which, though

they may have been fairly well governed, were too unimportant to be considered as subjects of political study for a great nation.

Victor Hugo attempting in his work bearing the title of "The Man Who Laughs," to contrast the condition of classes in England at the time of King James the Second, enumerates the fortunes owned by Lords and other noble men of that country. At the outset, he says: "Consolations that ought to suffice for those that have nothing;" and he concludes the article thus: "Thus one hundred and seventy-two peers flourishing under James the Second possess among them in lump sum an annual revenue of twelve hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds sterling, which is the eleventh part of the revenue of England." This amount equally divided would have given each of them a share of about seven thousand three hundred and ninety-five pounds, or thirty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty-five dollars. This result is very insignificant when compared with the income of a like number of Americans, every one of whom possesses a fortune equal to those of the one hundred and seventy-two English noblemen mentioned by Victor Hugo. And on the side of this incomparable amount of wealth, poverty and misery is rampant among a large class of free citizens, or democratic sovereigns. As the United States now exceeds England of two hundred years ago, by far, in population and in wealth it is natural that greater individual fortunes should be found in the former than in the latter; but the

inequality of fortunes which has already been established in the republic is entirely inconsistent with its principles and its material resources.

No democracy on earth has ever maintained or promoted, in any state, that equality of condition, among the people, which is one of its fundamental ideas. The Roman commonwealth, as we have seen broke down in the attempt to solve this question, and at that very stage of her growth, when the scarcity of land compelled the poorer classes to seek new countries. Other nations have had the same experience; and the American republic, notwithstanding the vastness of its territory, has already felt the reaction of its material development and of its rapid increase of population which yet amounts only to eighteen per square mile. The American people now see the wealth of their country concentrating itself in the hands of a few individuals; the emigration to their shores is being considerably reduced; and the time may come when people shall be forced to emigrate from the United States seeking new lands to improve their condition; and this may occur long before the population of that country has reached the proportion of that of any European monarchy.

Evidently, the press would have been more logical to attribute the social equality that reigned for a time in the democracy, to the primitive state of the country rather than to the wisdom of the free Constitution. The abundance of material resources combined with a wonderful force of foreign influences

has, so far, effected the rapid progress of the American republic, but at last, its state of social inequality has been brought about by the same causes that have produced it in all other republics. That such condition should exist in old populous nations, whatever their respective form of government, must be expected and is perfectly consistent with the course of human events. But why, in a new territory of vast extent and of a comparatively small population, yielding immense crops and possessing other advantages of a like magnitude, which we have already noticed, such extremes of poverty and wealth should have so soon arisen, can only be explained by the fact that its government has been administered for the interest of a few individuals comparatively, rather than for the masses, despite all its elections and the rights of all men to vote.

Are the workmen more respected in the United States than in Europe? How often and how many of them are ever invited to state balls, or admitted to receptions at the White House or at the state mansions? If they wish to find how they stand socially with the rich, let them attempt to visit their palatial residences, and they are soon snubbed by those same families whose fortunes they have promoted by their votes and by the sweat of their brow. There is now, in the American commonwealth, a rising aristocracy, which has but lately emerged from democracy, without the least foreign influence. Those aristocrats can not be justly compared with the ple-

beians of ancient Rome, who, having distinguished themselves by their military services in its wars of conquest became the associates of the patrician order. Their greatness is computed, not by their patriotism, but merely by their riches. They form a monied autocracy. Some of those fortunate democrats born, raised and educated under the Stars and Stripes, have become so adverse to democratic ideas and to the manners of Americans, that they spend most of their time in Europe with their families, in search of more fashionable people, and nobility. Nothing shall be said of those who are disposed to buy for their daughters, at fabulous sums, titles of nobility, which adorn even worthless men. What is more honorable in the minds of rich republicans, than nobility, even if it is a little disgraced.

The deplorable manner in which plain and honest old Roman democracy came at last to be regarded in all republics of by-gone ages, has been already well introduced in the land of freedom, notwithstanding the frequency of the ballot in this country. The rich is noticed by the press, when he is born, when he weds, and when he dies; but no attention is paid to the poor, except when he is accused, or hung.

Despite all that has come to pass, a portion of the press has retained the same attitude, with regard to suffrage, and is, even now, more silly and more contemptible than ever heretofore. When large numbers of workmen, thrown out of employment, clamor for food; when families, in the several

cities, live in a state of most abject poverty, and see nothing but death to put an end to their sorrows and miseries, while being surrounded with the most opulent individuals of the world, the press says: "They brought their woes upon themselves, why should they suffer from destitution, when they have at their disposal the ballot box to redress their grievances and ameliorate their condition?" What relief is the suffrage to that mother prostrated by grief and sickness, or driven to desperation by the cries of her hungry little ones, depending on democratic or republican legislation for fuel, or food or medicine?

If mobs destroy property, or if bands of desperate men plunder and murder, whether they be incited by want or a natural disposition to perpetrate diabolical deeds, the press exclaims: "It is almost incredible that citizens of the greatest and proudest republic of the earth could commit such horrible crimes."

If monopolists, the chosen people of both the press and the government, who live in the most extravagant splendor, express any apprehensions of danger for their property, in times of riot, the sympathetic press cries out: "If all good men should give more attention to politics they would be better protected."

The truth of the case is: no people could ever govern themselves under any form of government, unless their country be so small and their number so insignificant that all men could meet at any time and vote on all measures regarding public interests; but as every one would have to devote his whole time to

the government, he would soon find himself without any interests to protect. The "government by the people" was an impossibility even in the early times of the Greek republics. The declaration of war, we have seen, was the only question the masses were called to decide upon. As the government must be carried by only a few men, it is evident that in all republics and especially in democracies, while it deals exclusively with money matters, it is considered by a large element of the population as a market of speculative schemes, an auction sale of public interests.

Although the Americans pretend, more than any other nation, to have "a government by the people," it will easily be seen that they have much less to do with legislation or the administering of public affairs than the nations existing under constitutional or limited monarchies, and that even the most absolute potentates afford their subjects a far better rule than the so-called "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

Candidates for public offices, throughout the United States, are nominated and elected by the influence of a few political bosses, already alluded to, who, though they keep out of the government, do the governing; while the so-called sovereign people do the voting. The frequency of elections and the administering of public affairs seem to be mere pretexts for distributing patronage and appointments to favorites. These things are called plums, and these plums draw water to the mouths of millions of sovereigns, many

of whom are no longer partisans or patriots from the moment they fail to secure them. The people pass through their broiling periods of elections to find themselves without a government, and this is true of the national, state and municipal politics alike; the successful party has a president, or a governor, or a mayor, but the people have no head.

When political institutions are administered only for revenue and for private interests, how can the masses, and especially the laboring classes, expect justice from them? Nor have the people any just ground to censure their capitalists for having accumulated millions upon millions, by wrecks or other like unscrupulous methods. It is their own government and themselves they have to blame for giving them such opportunities. If their millionaires are wolves, what name must we give the people, for allowing themselves to be thus cajoled and robbed, while the bonnet of liberty is pulled over their eyse?

Whenever the American toilers are brought into parallel with those of Europe, as to their respective condition some people say: Why is it, if, in the old countries, the laboring elements are as prosperous as in our republic, that they are so often deprived of meat? Americans! it is natural enough that the poor classes of those countries can not feed much on meat, for it is one of their rarest things. But what is wonderfully amazing is that with all your abundance of produce of all kinds, which suffices for almost all the nations of the world, so many persons are found,

constantly, in your democracy, on the verge of starvation. Of all the civilized countries, the United States of America offers the world the most serious theme of study in political economy, when its real wealth and the smallness of its population are considered. The great republic whose all wisdom and success consists but in her vast quantity of wheat, corn, meat and the like; the great republic which seems to perceive a lack of brains or of political knowledge in nations less fortunate than herself in material resources, refutes the ideas of Victor Hugo and other like writers, that *Miserables* are seen but in monarchies, and in republics all the people live in the most luxurious style. All her cities now swarm with beggars of all characters, in good or bad health, robust or weak, having the perfect use of their arms and limbs, or crippled, with faces swollen up by liquor, or pale from hunger. At any hour of the day or night they stop people on the streets, calling every one: "Captain, Major, Judge, can I talk to you? I am hungry and without shelter, will you give me ten cents for a loaf of bread or for lodging? Have you some old clothes, an old pair of shoes for me? The winter is upon us, the snow is falling, I am almost naked, look at my feet!"

The streets are overrun by women and girls richly or poorly dressed, rivaling the ordinary prostitutes waiting in houses, by offering men their services for a little money, not always for their own support or that of children only, but to provide for a trio con-

sisting of a dog, a parrot, and a monkey, or for a bankrupt politician, once prosperous, but defeated in the last elections.

While the workman finds no alternate course but incessant hard labor and starvation, he must be satisfied with his standing on a footing of equality with the rich on election days, and consider himself amply paid by the honor of his falling into line, with his ragged clothes, on his way to the polls in company with wealth and luxury. Now, let the most enthusiastic admirers of Paine, and of Victor Hugo, say whether they deem voting in the great republic, "A sufficient consolation for those that have nothing." Can "The Man Who Laughs" see anything more laughable than the political dreams of those sarcastic but illogical, individuals? Voting in the American republic is only worthy of the most commonplace comparison! It resembles that patent solution of Mulberry Sellers* intended to cure eight hundred million sore eyes in Asia; there are "millions in it," but not for workmen, or the masses of the people. In the land of the free, a few individuals have the right to laugh; but on the other hand, a vast number ought to weep.

*Mulberry Sellers is the principal character of an American comedy bearing his name. He acts the part of Boomer, in many enterprises, over which he is very enthusiastic. He establishes sites for large cities in prairies or in woods, and advertises none but corner lots for sale. His most wonderful money-making scheme is the discovery of a solution for the eyes; and relying on the sore eyes of the Asiatic people for the sale of his article he exclaims: "There are millions in it!"

NOBILITY.

It is the transcendent merit of man which once gave birth to titles of nobility. Nor can the noblest of all nobles but acknowledge that nobility lies nowhere but in the character. The qualities constituting it are simply recognized and proclaimed by a state or by a people when they bestow upon any one a mark of high distinction or a political privilege. Thus originated royalty. The first rulers of all dynasties have been promoted to power for their great deeds; they had distinguished themselves by their courage, by their virtues or by their genius. Such were Nimrod, Ninus, Semiramis in Ancient Assyria, Romulus, in Rome, Meroveh, Charlemagne, Alfred, Rurik and Henry IV. in modern Europe. In battles, nobles were such individuals as Duguesclin, Bayard, the Duke of Wellington, Ney, Ponsonby and Cambronne.

Hereditary nobility is legitimate enough, even if the descendants have not fully inherited the characteristics of their ancestors, were it only to honor their memory. But they are unworthy of it who are entirely opposed to them in character.

Nobility is often considered inconsistent with republicanism and only related to monarchy. This is an error. The ancient monarchy of Egypt had no nobility except its royal family. The Roman Empire was established by the Plebeian Party, that had vanquished the republicans, constituting the nobility

of Rome; and they were nobles who murdered Cæsar. Most of the republics have been noted for their aristocratic or privileged classes. In the transitory period from the feudal to the modern times, royalty in Europe has carried on war against the noblesse and triumphed over it. The policy of absolutism has always been to place all the people on the same level and has obtained more success even in this than any democracy. At all times many republicans have exercised their freedom in seeking after titles of nobility; and in the American republic, although free from such influences, some people as they grow rich, show a natural liking for those honors. Nevertheless, true nobles beg for no titles; and to republics as well as to monarchies, that class of men belong. They were such characters as Aristides, in Ancient Athens; Fabricius, in Rome; George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, in America. Nor were less noble than these, thousands of others, among whom Ulysses Grant and Andrew Johnson can be cited; the former in his magnanimous conduct towards the vanquished, at Appomatox, and the latter, for having illustrated the indomitable courage of his political convictions, in favor of a people whom he had helped to subdue.

ASPIRATIONS OF DEMOCRATS TO TITLES
OF NOBILITY, AND LINES OF DIS-
TINCTION IN SOCIETY.

It is interesting to notice some republicans boasting of noble birth, or distinguished and wealthy ancestors. With all their pretensions they should only be remembered or looked upon with the utmost contempt for claiming the same titles and honors which they always publicly oppose and deny to all men, in principle. Even American educators are often greatly attracted by foreign marks of distinction among people; nor do they refrain from drawing the lines between classes in the land of freedom and equality. They perceive in the American republic three orders of society: The aristocracy, or the wealthy class, composed of people partly educated and partly ignorant; the middle class, comprising those of easy circumstances, and the laboring element, designated as 'low' class.

The following articles of American papers are fair specimens of the ideas of distinction, false pride, and vanity, that pervade the American democracy, and show what enthusiastic admiration its wealthier classes have for all that which is aristocratical and royal.

EULALIA AWED BY AMERICAN WOMEN.

(From the New York World.)

"Mr. W. Mc——, who was present at the dinner given by Mr. W. R—— to the Infanta on last Thurs-

day night, says that it was a very brilliant affair.

"The Infanta," he said, "was rather awed by the beauty of our women, their distinguished manners and their superb dressing and display of jewels. It was the first time she had come in contact with New York elegant women. They impressed her very forcibly, and she repeatedly exclaimed, 'What grandes dames these are! What a beautiful creature Mrs. A—— is, and how distinguished looking!' She was particularly struck with the grace and beauty of the young girls. The dinner itself marked an epoch in the social history of New York. The very best and most representative elements of society were brought together at the same board. Up to that time the Infanta had mixed only with the multitude. She had been associated with a great mass and with all grades of society at the various receptions and theatre parties she had attended. Now, however, she knows that New York City has a society equal to any on earth. The members of this society could meet her on equal footing. They were not obliged to bow and bend the knee, as did the persons who had previously come in contact with her. She has expressed an earnest wish to visit Newport, the abode of America's aristocracy, and will probably go there immediately after her return from Chicago. She sails from this country on June 24th, at the request of the Queen Regent of Spain, in order to be present as the official representative of her country at the marriage of the Duke of York to the Princess May of Teck."

Mr. Editor of the New York World, will you explain how certain elements of society in New York City can, consistently with the principles of the American Constitution, be superior to the masses of its population? Tell us, further, why so many democratic sovereigns were obliged to bow and bend the knee before royalty, in this land of freedom and equality. Are all the members of your select society equal in moral and intellectual developement, to the Princess Eulalia, and even only to a vast number of the multitude? Are not a great many of them simply noted for their riches?

AMERICANS AND THEIR CRESTS.

ONLY TWENTY-FOUR RECOGNIZED AS HAVING THEM
ACCORDING TO ENGLISH RECORDS.

(New York World.)

"A new and revised edition has just been published of 'Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland'. This is a complete and authoritative collection of crests and mottoes of families not included in 'Burke's Peerage' and 'Burke's Landed Gentry.' It will be found to possess a peculiar interest for Americans because it contains the names of a number of American families. The number is very small, however, but that fact does not take from the interest.

"The following is a list of American names printed

in the book. It should be an object of genuine curiosity, and speaks for itself to those persons who are instructed in American genealogy:

(The names are here omitted.)

“These families, with one conspicuous exception are not of the first social eminence. Many of them are recognized as old families, but several, on the other hand, are not. Some thousands of Americans are using crests and in this book only twenty-four are mentioned. It would be interesting to know what rule was followed in the selection of them. Perhaps only those Americans who have paid fees for registering their crests at the Herald's college are mentioned.”

AMERICAN WOMEN AND ENGLISH TITLES.

(Prof. Thomas Davidson in the Forum.)

“If the effect of English popular literature upon the young men of America is injurious, rendering them unpatriotic and contemptible, its effect upon the young women is even more so. The extent of this injury it would be almost impossible to overestimate. For many of them the novel drawn pictures of English social life, wherein every one bows down to birth and title, and lords and high born ladies are spoken of as if they were divinities whose recognition and favor were the chief prizes of life, are utterly demoralizing,

inspiring them with an impatient contempt for the simplicity of American society, in which personal worth and charm can make them queens, and with a longing to enter, even as humble suppliants, the enchanted circle where birth and title rule, and where personal worth hides behind a mask. Women thus demoralized become utterly unfit to be American wives and mothers. The chief effort is to shape their lives on the English model; if they are poor, toadying to the rich and would-be aristocratic; if they are rich, playing the arrogant English duchess to the best of their ability. Not a few of them even render themselves contemptible to men and gods by toadying or buying (at what a price sometimes!) their way into English aristocratic circles, by shivering attendance for hours at royal receptions, in order to do obeisance to what their country has nobly repudiated; or worse than all, by buying husbands, renouncing their birthright of freedom and equality with the best, and sinking down into subjects, liable to be called on to act as "ladies in waiting," that is, as chambermaids. If all the sacrifices which degenerate American fathers and mothers have made to buy titled husbands for their daughters were recorded, they would form a revelation so ignominious that it would not be believed; and, after such a revelation, patriotic Americans would hardly dare to look foreigners in the face. But even without such a revelation the conduct of many of our countrywomen abroad, and especially in England, is enough to make

every self-respecting American hide his head for shame."

THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

The editors of the American press, in order to claim for their people the best characteristics of mankind, allege that they descend from all the nations of the earth. But, at other times, they make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world by pretending to be exclusively of Anglo-Saxon origin. In the latter case they resemble those persons, who, conscious of their guilt, always attempt to justify themselves before being accused. They are well aware that not only their statements are false, but there exists in the veins of the nation, many mixtures of blood which those educators seem to despise. How can the Americans be of Anglo-Saxon origin when the English people themselves are not entirely from that stock? Despite this fact, some men claim that ancestry to which the English are generally supposed to be mostly related, simply because the coveted reputation of their descending from the people, who, of all the races contributing in the greatest measure to the existence of Americans, are the wealthiest and the proudest, flatters their vanity and conceit.

The most reliable sources of information on this subject, teach us that the English nation has been constituted by the fusion of many nationalities. The

first inhabitants of England and Wales were from Belgic Gaul, from the West of France and from the North of Spain. The Saxons, the Jutes, the Angles and the Norsemen came in afterwards. The Norman conquest brought to that country emigrants of various origins from the European continent. This influx was followed by the arrival of a vast multitude of Flemings at the time of the wars of Stephen, and in the reign of Edward III; and during the period of the political and religious wars in Europe, the Germans, the Dutch, and the French, have immigrated in large numbers into England. Peoples descending from the Anglo-Saxon race, like others of Teutonic origin have a fair complexion and blue eyes; but a great many English people are of a brown color; and German, Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish names are common among them.

The earliest immigrants from England to America were no more Anglo-Saxon than other English people; and after receiving their first settlements from that country, the population of the American republic became composed of many million descendants from German origin, but very little Saxon; of several million Irish and Scotch people, and many millions of others, comprehending Swedes and Norwegians, Danes, Spaniards, Italians, French-Canadians, Jews, Poles, Austrians, Belgians, Dutch, and Chinese. To this incomparable mixture a population of eight million negroes must be added. It is thereby clearly demonstrated that the American people, in their

complex state, are far more related to the African, or to the Irish, or to the German, than to the Anglo-Saxon, race. The English language is also considerably mixed; and most of its words foreign to the Saxon, have been drawn from the Greek and the Latin, through the medium of the French language. A large number of French words have been, in the last two centuries, introduced into the English tongue without even the change of a letter. In reading the works of Gibbon, Hume, Macauley and other English modern writers, a Frenchman recognizes in them a considerable portion of his own language, which, indeed, has rendered those writings equal in clearness and elegance, to any French literary production.

NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

Almost all naturalized citizens, and even a vast multitude of natives, whose parents were of foreign birth, retain their original nationality to which they cling most devotedly. This feeling in the United States is but the effect of its political system. The electoral contests and the competition for public offices, in producing racial prejudices, can not fail to keep nationalities apart. It may be argued that this is owing to the infancy of the country and will be obliterated by age. Nevertheless, the prospects for fusion of even only the white nationalities, into one, have been greatly diminished by the events of the

past years. Not only the foreigners, but the Americans themselves, who once were the most liberal of all men, are becoming extremely clannish. For a long time to come, even should immigration into the United States stop entirely, there will be the Americans, the Jews, the negroes, the Swedes, the Irish and the Germans; and the three latter nationalities, especially, will continue to grow in importance, provided they keep clinging to their old principles.

The Italians, the English, the French and the Jews, are scarce seen in political positions, because none of these are strong enough to exercise sufficient influence in politics. The elements of the population that furnish the great army of professional politicians and office holders, are: The American born citizens, the Irish and the Germans.

The Swedes and the Germans are mostly employed in tilling the soil, principally in the Northern and Western states. The natives seem adverse to the culture of land and to the practical knowledge of mechanical trades, although they are considerably engaged in them, or in any branch of industry and commerce. They are more fond of banking, of real estate transactions, of mining, of trust offices, and of railroads, and principally of the trains that travel on them. They are the best railroad men in the country, because of all things on earth, they like best that which moves the fastest. Nothing can go quick enough for them. They have lately announced that locomotives, on some of their roads will soon travel at the speed

of a hundred miles an hour, but it is questionable whether they will then be satisfied as to the velocity of their traveling. Rapid motion, in all cases, is the strongest and the weakest points of Americans, and is one of the main causes of their material success, and of their frequent reverses. The more swift the motion of a body, the greater its friction, and consequently, the sooner comes its ruin.

The Jews are chiefly engaged in commerce and control at least one half of men's clothing trade. Like the Irish, they are found in proportionately large numbers in the most prosperous cities of the country.

When the Americans earnestly commenced inviting immigration to their country, by proclaiming through the world the advantages offered by their democratic institutions, the Irish were prompt to respond to the call. It was in 1847 that they began to emigrate in large numbers, and in 1880, more than two millions of them, had, in that period, sought refuge in the United States. They left their native country, not without emotional effusion, but the single thought of their parting, forever, with their landlords, soon dried their tears.

That they have wonderfully availed themselves of their opportunities, in their adopted country, is recognized by all nationalities, even by themselves. With very few exceptions, emerged from a state of abject poverty and political insignificance, the Irish landed on the Western shore of the Atlantic, to find themselves with the reins of the government in their hands, and on the road to fortune.

Their tongue, which, being the national language of the republic, gave them, in the beginning, a decided advantage over most of other foreign races, and their remarkable activity combined with craftiness and sagacity, have rendered them the most powerful element of the population in the country's politics. In the Northern, Eastern and Western states, they occupy more than one half of the public offices. They control most of the municipal governments, in the principal cities, and many state legislatures. They even exert considerable influence in the federal government.

Yet, it is outside of politics that the Irish have attained the eminence of their success. Their thriftiness, their laborious dispositions, and their indefatigable energies, have been equal to the requirements of the country's development. At first they took the pick-ax and the shovel. They dug out, and prepared the ground for all those tremendous cities and railroads; they filled up the ravines and valleys, and removed mounds of earth and mountains of rock, to clear the way for the advance of civilization. Not only have they furnished the most of the hard labor, but they have embraced all branches of commerce, all the mechanical trades and professions. A large number of noted and rich contractors, of eminent lawyers and jurists, of learned doctors and skilled surgeons, are found among them. Most of the Irish are now in good financial condition; and a great many of them are as wealthy as the Lords of England,

whom they rival in social and political influence, and by the splendor of their living and the palatial style of their residences.

To the Irish, principally, are the Americans indebted, for their power of eloquence and fluency of speech. To the Irish and the Germans are, in a great measure, attributed the victories of the Northern over the Southern armies, in the last American conflict, and also the maintenance of the Union. To the religious devotion of foreign women, the soldiers, Protestant and Catholic alike, greatly owed their relief from sickness, the treatment or the cure of their wounds, on the fields of battle.

There are, in the United States, in all nationalities, perhaps with the exception of the Jews and the Irish, a vast multitude of persons dissatisfied with their lot. After toiling in that country for more than thirty years, and leading a laborious and moderate life, they have nothing, and attribute their poverty to the political state of the country. They acknowledge that they could have fared much better in their native land, and would return to it, were they still young. But, after such a long absence, upon the prospect of finding themselves foreigners in their native country, and of being compelled to start again in business, amid insurmountable difficulties, in old age, they reconcile themselves with the ills they have and live in hope of ameliorating their condition, until they die.

FAMILIARITIES ON SHORT ACQUAINTANCE.

The American approaches every one, talks to every one; and the tone or humorism with which he often addresses persons that are entire strangers to him can make any one suppose that he had had a long acquaintance with them. But, only a short time after this, he may not notice them any more than if he had never seen them heretofore. Any individual can approach him with the same ease and comfort, and talk to him about money, elections, horses and pugilists, or other subjects, and ignore him at the next meeting without wounding his feelings. It is in such cases that he apparently differs the most from the Englishman, the Frenchman, or any other European. Those foreigners are far more cautious than Americans with regard to parties whom they come in contact with; but, if they are more judicious in forming acquaintances, their friendship may be also the more substantial and more durable.

The Americans addressing a stranger may say: "Captain what do you think of all those fellows that are registering some fraudulent names on the voting list? Some of them, don't you know, are dead men's names. Those democrats or republicans are not satisfied with voting early and often, but, they want dead citizens and citizens that never lived, to vote, too. And in addition to all that, if they are not closely watched, they will stuff the ballot boxes at election times. Have you ever heard of such tricks, or such

frauds, in a free country? It is not honest, it is un-American. I tell you, my friend, those other politicians, in the city council, must be careful about giving to bosses franchises for street railways, or passing ordinances for boulevards, or parks, or water-works. I cannot believe that they all go to public offices for their health, or for the public good. If we discover their mean tricks, they shall soon have a rope to their neck. You must remember that some time ago, the mayor vetoed a thirty year's franchise; and if the councilmen had voted it over that veto, they would have been hung; the ropes were ready for them. You know, we have the finest government on God's green earth, but we became tired waiting for redress from the law-courts against criminals; the people had to take the law in their own hands, and I believe in the government of the people."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHAKING HANDS.

One of the most trying and most cruel treatments which any mortal can endure on earth is experienced by every president of the United States in his occasional visits through various parts of the republic. In several places the Chief Magistrate holds public receptions at which every individual has the right to pass in front of him and shake hands with him. Some times as many as twenty thousand sovereigns

engaged themselves in such performance, very comical, indeed, in a way, but extremely sad in another. Every one in the procession has an easy task to perform, having to deal with one person only; but, now, think of the poor President, and if you have any feeling for suffering humanity, you must consider him, in such cases, as an object of deep compassion. What more severe punishment could be inflicted upon a human being, than that he should be pulled and shaken by so many people, and should handle so many hands, white hands and black hands, clean hands, dirty hands, diseased hands, all kinds of hands, and still go through this ordeal with an appearance of profound sincerity and brotherly love, and with a broad smile of joy from the outset continually maintained to the end of the ceremony, while he feels almost as much tortured as if he were running the old military gauntlet. Although no fault can be found with a ruler for recognizing, on certain occasions, any decent individual in his country, whether he be a scientist, an opulent capitalist, or a tiller of the soil, or a laborer, the proper method for him to shake hands with his people and all of them, is to do so through their representatives

REFUTATION OF THE ASSERTIONS OF
THOMAS PAINE, VICTOR HUGO, AND
THE PRESS, AS TO THE ESTAB-
LISHMENT OF STANDING
ARMIES.

One of the most daring falsehoods that were ever published by republican writers, such as Thomas Paine, Victor Hugo, and the press, is that standing armies were exclusively monarchical institutions. That so ridiculous an assertion should be accepted by a great many people with apparent credence, is almost incredible, and shows only how easily they can be led astray, and held in ignorance and prejudices. It is true that armies were first established and employed by monarchies, and for the very reason that monarchies were the first governments that were founded. But the ancient republics followed their examples, nor have they performed any great achievements except by force of arms. When the Greek republics were not engaged in foreign wars they were fighting one another. In the Roman Commonwealth, the military power was the main strength of the nation, and the discipline of troops was carried even far more rigidly, than afterwards, under the imperial rule. Their conquests had been almost entirely achieved, when Augustus was proclaimed emperor. Carthage maintained a tremendous navy and a powerful army to preserve her commercial supremacy and the integrity of her territory.

The Italian, the English, and the French, republics have had recourse to armies, not only to repel foreign invasion, but to subdue or conquer. Why is it that republican France keeps a more formidable army now than was ever maintained by her kings or emperors? It is because, she has found through costly experiments, that she could not be safe without it. That great standing armies, are, in the European countries, indispensable whether they be republics or monarchies, must be acknowledged. There are so many nations of large population and of comparatively small territory, that it is reasonable that they should fear each other, and consequently should always be ready for war, to protect their national existence or other material interests respectively.

The absence of a large army, at present, in the United States of America, must be attributed, not to its political wisdom, but merely to the nature of circumstances in which the country is placed. The truth of it is; the Americans have no need of such an army, because they are too powerful both in population and in other material resources to fear their neighbors; they have already more population than their republic can decently govern, and their territory is large and rich enough to make a nation of, at least, four hundred million inhabitants. But, it would be another thing, if in place of Canada and Mexico, they had on their sides such nations as Germany, France, England and Russia, or if they were not separated from Asia and Europe by tremendous oceans.

It is not doubted, that, were the American republic situated like any of those countries, it would be also a military power. Notwithstanding their advantageous position, they find it necessary to keep troops; however so small their army, it is as large as is required and will grow with the population, if not to repel foreign invasion, at least to protect society against the attacks of its free citizens. Besides regular troops, there are in almost every American city regiments of militia, organized for safety. The republic is now building a powerful navy, and is about to assume a foreign policy. The time may consequently soon arrive when Americans shall cease boasting that any citizen in the land of the free can always do as he pleases, that he can live in the country or leave it; they may soon or late commence appealing to the patriotism and martial spirit of men, and remind them, that their first duties being to their country, if not to God, they can not leave it, until they shall have served their time in the military service, or exposed their lives in battles.

But the American and the French republicans say: "If all countries were republics, their governments would be so moderate, so just, and so economical, and the people would be animated by such a brotherly love, that nations, having no mutual fears, would entirely dispense with armies." Nothing is more erroneous than this. Such assertion, like all others of their own make regarding politics, is completely without proof. Where can they find arguments to support it? Is it

in Greece, where the republics carried wars of jealousy and greediness against each other, and were saved, for a time, by a monarchy, from mutual extermination? Is it in the republics of Rome and Carthage that fought against one another for upwards of forty years, and ended their terrible conflict only after the latter was completely and forever wiped out of existence?

If republicans talk about the boundless ambition of ancient and modern monarchies in making conquests, let them compare the ancient monarchies with the ancient republics, and the modern monarchies with the modern republics; and upon fair comparison, it will be found that they all were possessed with the same feeling of covetousness. England has acquired her principal colonies in the last century and a half, and her ambition for conquest was from her people rather than from her kings. And it is also true that republicans have had more recourse to the force of arms to seize the power, than any king; Marius and Sulla in Rome, Napoleon in France and many others, prove this.

In the ancient times and even in the middle ages all conquests generally remained in possession of the conquerors; their slaves were the prisoners of war; and this state of slavery has been carried by all the ancient republics, as well as the monarchies of Egypt, Assyria and Persia.

The modern, like the ancient, republics, are no more actuated by mutual love than the mon-

archies. Have not the Southern republics waged war against each other? Has not the United States carried war against Mexico? It matters not whether its declaration in either case, emanated from a disagreement about a boundary line, or from a violation of international laws, or from any other cause; no government goes to war for its pleasures, or without good motive or cause, or without pretexts. What can be said about the American Civil Conflict? Did it prove much brotherly love? On the contrary, the course of human events, in all nations, shows that monarchy is far more favorable to peace, than republics. Enough has been observed in both of these forms of governments to convince us, that, should a universal republic ever be established, it could not be but the beginning of the end of the world, nor could mankind perish from a sadder cause than that not only nations, but individuals, in their respective countries, should massacre one another.

Let all republicans remind themselves, at last, with the indisputable fact that under all forms of government, justice is executed by the sword. Not only does it become a necessary instrument to protect a nation against foreign invasion, or against its own upheavals, but to enforce the laws against crimes, to arrest suspected or accused persons, and to protect sheriff's sales or any legal seizure of property. One constable armed by the state is the beginning of an army, and that army grows according to the wants of the people, to uphold the executive power which

is confided either to a king or to a president.

The proposition often entertained that a tribunal of international justice should be established to prevent wars by adjusting amicably all difficulties arising between nations, is in appearance, very benevolent, but extremely chimerical in reality. However, this is no modern invention. Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, founded a tribunal of this kind; but Tullus Hostilius, his successor, demolished it. King Henry IV. of France, had for a time similar views, but he was compelled to declare war himself.

MURDERS OF KINGS AND PRESIDENTS.

Americans often allude to the murders of kings. In reading the history of nations, one may naturally be struck by the frequent occurrence of such events. But he must bear in mind that there have been more monarchies than republics, and the number of kings assassinated which may seem to him great because it comes to his observation in a few hours or a few days reading, is comparatively small, as it covers a period of at least four thousand years. Murders of all kinds have always been more frequent in republics than in monarchies, in proportion of their term of existence and of their population respectively. Although, in this case as in every other, the republicans or democrats see nothing but wrong on the monarchial side, and perfection on their own, there

have been in less than thirty years more presidents murdered in the United States, than kings in all the European countries combined.

It is observeable that in all republics of a developed state, the people have shown their dispositions to destroy and kill, and their inabilities to build up. And if the American republic should be an exception to this rule when it is ripe enough to repeat the scenes of its political ancestors, a miraculous change shall have taken place in the nature of its people, no matter how educated they may be, unless they shall soon adopt a stronger form of government.

The murderers of Cæsar, the executioners of Charles the First of England, of Louis the XVI, of France and his family, have stained with blood the standard of republicanism, and shall, forever, contrast the benevolence of monarchial governments to which hypocrites and ferocious malefactors, under the mask of philanthropy, owed at last, their own salvation.

AMERICAN CITIZENS IN MILITARY PARADES AND IN SOCIAL PARTIES.

Notwithstanding all that has been said against American manners, it must be acknowledged that there are among them a large portion of well behaved and well mannered people, and in this respect, the women are far superior to men. Americans do not all eat with the knife, or always with the fork in their

right hand; they do not all handle a drinking cup or a glass by its upper edge, or by putting their fingers in it, as do most of their waiters in hotels and restaurants. They do not all disgust their neighbors by expectorating or picking their nose or their teeth, or cutting or cleaning their finger-nails or scratching their heads. But nearly all those who know as much as their corresponding class in Europe about good manners, are faulty in one thing; their extreme care in following rules, and their fear to violate them, gives them that air of stiffness, from which, even the English people, who are not the most graceful in the world, are free. Americans are easy when they ought to look stiff, and stiff when they ought to be graceful and easy. On certain days, companies of militia or citizen soldiers may be seen going to, or coming from, a parade exercise. Instead of assuming a martial aspect, they all go as they please; every one walks at a pace to suit himself; they smoke cigars, or chew, or carry canes or umbrellas; they talk and laugh, and some times stop to eat candy, cakes and ice-cream. What is more comical than to see a soldier carrying an umbrella, or eating candy and ice-cream? In the evening of the same day these men can be seen at a ball in full dress and as stiff as the royal guards of London, or the Hussars of Berlin; they walk to a line and turn exactly at right angles; they can hardly open their mouth, move their head, or their eyes, and otherwise act as if they were under the strict orders of the colonel of a regi-

ment. At the table every one tries to accompany the motions of his lady friend, and they all seem to attempt to handle knife and fork simultaneously and as systematically as soldiers in line fix bayonets in rifles.

FRIVOLITIES. HORSES AND RACES, ETC.

In the United States, the most highly prized animals are the trotters, and fast trotters are far more honored than some good men. Alluding to servants, their bosses often say: "Mack, Pat, Jack, Bob, is taking his grub;" but, when speaking about trotters, they are far more particular in the tone and in the choice of their expressions; they respectfully say: "Maud S., Jay-Eye-See, Saint Julian, Nancy Hanks, is breakfasting, dining, supping."

The driver of a trotter considers himself a highly professional man, and places himself in the rank of barristers, doctors, scientists and artists; and he is recognized by a large portion of the people worthy of his pretensions or aspirations, if he only wins races. He never talks of anything but horses, sulky, wheels and spokes, or race tracks.

Becoming, at times, very enthusiastic over his wonderful achievements in his professional career, for the advancement of mankind, he exclaims excitedly: "People talk about progress all over the world; but my dear friend, let me ask you: in what

country can you find horse trainers equal to our own? The speed which our horses have developed is one of the greatest wonders of modern times, and is owing, not only to the eminent qualities of our stock, but to the superiority of our intelligence, as a people. You know, good breeding and good education are for all animals what they are for men; now, look at us, and look at our trotters. About seventy-five years ago, or a little after we had secured our independence, our trotters could not go faster than a mile in 2.50; but since that time their speed has kept pace with American civilization, and the phenomenal growth of the nation. Nancy Hanks has trotted lately in 2.04; and the time will soon come when our horses will split the earth in two, in less than two minutes. And notice now; it is not only in educating horses that we beat the world; there are many other proofs to show that we stand, at least, a hundred years in advance of Europe for progress. Our four-wheeled buggy is the most elegant and the lightest vehicle on earth, except our sulky, which weighs less than fifty pounds, and is one of the sweetest things in existence. (This epithet, "sweet" is applied by Americans to everything that suits their fancy or looks pretty.) What in the world shows a gentleman to better advantage, than his sitting behind a fast trotter, going easy at a 2.20 gait on a fine road?"

To the assertion made by another driver that a certain horse trotted his mile in 2.16, he replied: "I know better than that; the time was but 2.15 3-4

you know one quarter of a second makes considerable difference in a race and in the price of a horse. After a long controversy upon this subject, the matter was referred to records for decision.

One day, an amateur of trotters was so sad and downcast coming on a race track towards the judge's stand, that he could not have presented a more pitiful appearance, had he lost one of his relatives or his best friend. "What is the matter with you, Captain?" some one asked him. "What is the matter with me, don't you know that Harry Wilkes is dead?" "Well I don't know any gentleman of that name." "I don't mean a man, I mean the son of that celebrated trotter that went in less than 2.16."

There is nothing good for a people in fast trotting, and the bad influences which this frivolous and extravagant sort of amusement has exerted over the Americans can hardly be estimated. It has wrecked thousands of men, both financially and morally, and has turned the minds of a great many to gambling and other vices. It is another thing with the galloper for although this horse is like the trotter, an object of considerable expenditure and gambling, it is well adapted to both usefulness and pleasure alike. The trotter is a fastidious dude, he can not travel but on a very level, soft and smooth road; but the galloper goes every where still faster than him, over fences, and streams, on smooth or rough roads, up hill and down hill, across the plain and through the forest. The galloper is a hunter, and a hero; he goes to war, and

stimulates by his action the prowess of men, and is driven by the bravest and most chivalric knight; he charges against artillery and bayonets, wins battles, promotes the glory of nations and decides the fate of empires.

Nothing can more illustrate the frivolous dispositions of the people, than their converting every game into a business affair, or prizing so highly such things as base-ball, billiards, and even pugilism. Their giving of prizes amounting to \$40,000 or more to a champion pugilist, suffices to indicate their boundless extravagances.

Frivolities of all kinds are encouraged by the press, as seen by the following lines of one of the leading papers of the country.

THE AMERICAN GIRL ABROAD.

SHE IS THE MOST CHARMING CREATURE ON ALL
THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT.

(New York Sun)

“One of the certain and constant satisfactions of Americans traveling abroad is the American woman, distinguishable everywhere, known as an American woman everywhere, and admired as is no other product of what Europeans are pleased to regard as the barbarism on the other side of the Atlantic. How they are able to keep up the idea of America as bar-

baric with the joyous presence of the American girl so often before them is a mystery that no one can solve.

“There used to be a fallacy abroad in the world that only many generations of wealth, power and culture could give a woman certain graces of feature, form and carriage. As these graces never did exist among European women of the lower classes, who are so busy at plowing and reaping and at draught horse work of various kinds, it is no wonder that the fallacy existed. But American women have changed all this. There is a romantic notion that princesses and duchesses and the like are generally most aristocratic to behold. It is akin to the other idea that great men are necessarily great to look at. As a matter of fact, which we all know now, a high-born woman is just as likely to have huge feet and hands, an angular form and ugly and insignificant features as any one else. But they were wont to urge, granted that nature makes no distinctions in favor of long ancestry, still the high-born woman has the grand air, the impression and confident serenity of manner, which the lowly born can not hope to imitate. And this has held on much longer than the other fallacy, because it rested upon an intangible something which people are fond of seeing in the high-born of earth, whether it exists or not. But the American women have proved this. None of us on this side of the water can lay much claim to ancient and lofty ancestry. The Pilgrim Fathers and the settlers at Jamestown,

the pioneers of the border and all the original and pure Americans were simple, honest people, who had simple, honest virtues, and were brave and strong and self-reliant without any props from ancestors or without any great hope of fame. And it is the daughters and granddaughters of these people, said daughters and granddaughters being the first of their race to have the advantages of the civilization that is supposed to refine and make culture, who have gone over to Europe to see what they could see."

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES.

In the great republic, all the judges, except those of the federal courts, are elected by the people for a number of years varying according to their orders and regulations of localities. Most of them, uncertain of holding their position longer than one term, notwithstanding their virtues and eminent abilities, must expect that, in the near future, unless they shall represent a constituency in a legislative assembly, or be promoted to governorship or senatorship, they shall be compelled to withdraw from the public the aid of their wisdom and valuable services. In advanced and even old age they may have to resume the practice of law and perform the arduous task of building up a clientele, or embrace some speculative occupation, unworthy of their tested dignity, for securing a livelihood, if they be not provided with sufficient

means of support. Can we respect a principle which removes from office, without just cause, a venerable and profound magistrate or jurist, and is apt, meantime, to elevate a mean and worthless individual to that exalted position? The republic, in making the judges, like most other judiciary officials depend on the popular vote for their promotion, and in limiting their term of office respectively, renders their interests far more identical with those of politicians and lawyers, than with the good of the people. It is as natural for them as for others to feel themselves deeply interested in their own welfare, and guard against the rigors of fortune. Although we can not deny that the majority of American judges are incorruptible, it is not doubted, however, that, considering their circumstances, their opportunities, and the democratic ingratitude that confronts upright public servants in their country, a great many of them may not always act as righteously, in their official capacity, as they would, if they were to occupy their post of honor permanently. To protect themselves against the reverses and risks afforded by the speculative strife of politics, they may contribute to the corruptive influences of the republic their full measure of vice or abuse by subordinating justice to their own aggrandizement. To accomplish this purpose what can prevent them from playing into the hands of the court officials and lawyers, to advance the prosperity of both the legal and political professions, that are so intimately connected? Nothing is easier than to in-

crease the difficulties and complications of legal procedure for promoting litigation and increasing public expense. At all events, to the eligibility of judges must be partly attributed the relaxation of justice.

It is evident, at the outset, that the nation's judiciary system does not function in harmony with the constitution, according to its additional Article VI. "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the rights to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory processes for obtaining witnesses in his favor and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." The article which is very precise in composition, and full of law, enjoyment and man's rights, has been, like most of the others, taken in substance, from British legal procedure, and has always been admirably carried into effect by the Crown throughout the empire. But, in the United States of America, this Constitutional principle is very frequently a failure. Although, in theory, it seems intended to correct a monarchial defect, by providing the accused with the means of promptly ascertaining the fate that awaits him, or relieving himself from a most cruel suspense, its application, under the democratical rule produces, in most cases, results entirely contrary to that provision. It allows him to enjoy the rights

to a slow and long trial and delays giving him, meanwhile, far better chances to escape punishment, if guilty, and continue terrorizing society, than under any other form of government. In this country, as well as in all others, they are always prompt in prosecuting criminals or accused parties, if it be only for a plausible excuse of spending the public money. They will travel over the whole world to hunt them up. But, after having brought them back home, they are extremely slow in meting out justice to them; their trials may not be instituted until a year or two after their arrest, and the authorities may trifle with out-laws a long time after they have been tried and condemned before their case is finally decided upon, especially when these prisoners have a great deal of money at their disposal. Very frequently, a criminal case, which, if it were tried in any of the European countries or in Canada, would consume but a few days or a few hours, to the entire satisfaction of all litigant parties, may, in the United States of America, occupy the courts many weeks or months, involving thereby the useless expense of tremendous sums of money.

No sooner has a verdict been rendered against any prisoner, than his counsel moves for a new trial, generally alleging erring of the court in conducting the case or instructing the jury, and often bringing technicalities or mere quibbles as ground for his motion. The time for hearing the argument is set, sometimes postponed from week to week, heard at last, and

taken into consideration by the court for days or months. If the motion is refused, the case is immediately brought up to the supreme court of the state, in which the trial was held, and sometimes to the United States Supreme Court, which often reverses the judgment of the lower court and orders a new trial to be instituted on what seems in the opinion of most intelligent people, and would be almost always considered by all the courts of well-governed countries, entirely immaterial, or, a mere trifle. In the period that elapses from this decision to the second trial, new evidence favorable to the accused may be manufactured, and some of the state witnesses may disappear by death or otherwise, or contradict their first testimony; consequently, he, who, in the former case was declared a demon, is in the latter proved to be of immaculate conception; and it is a murdered innocent person that is found guilty of assault with intent to kill. It is very natural for any accused to do the utmost in his power to clear himself from charges against him; and his counsel, too, is expected to use his best endeavors to secure his client's freedom or save his life. But, meanwhile, public security demands that those privileges be not much abused, and the judges and the jury are supposed to be the true and impartial arbitrators between the state and the prisoner. Some accused persons, after being tried and sentenced, three, or four, or five, or six, or even seven, times, still are granted a new trial, and liberated at last. But, if they were rich at the time of

their arrest, they may be, now, entirely ruined. It is the prevailing opinion, very freely expressed that, in a great many cases money redeems criminals from penalties. Although there have been, in the United States, a large number of rich men guilty of murder in the first degree, not one of them has ever suffered the death penalty, or served a long term of imprisonment. From time to time, in all parts of this great land of equality and freedom, a laboring man, the dearest object of modern republican or democratic affection, after enjoying the right to a speedy and public trial, as provided by the American Constitution, is gently raised from the lowest state of poverty to the scaffold, and launched into eternity.

The insanity dodge, in criminal cases, is said to be considerably practiced, by which men very sound in mind are cleared from the accusation of murder or rape. After their acquittal they may be formally sent to some insane asylum, but they are soon set at liberty, on the ground of their having recovered reason; and as they are very apt to re-enter their criminal profession, a repetition of such offenses is called "Relapse of insanity."

Money or demagogism may exert as much power in the civil as in the criminal courts. How can a people bring down upon themselves more injustice than by subjecting their destinies to the designs of professional politicians, acting the parts of champions of justice principally to promote their individual interests? We can easily perceive the trying position

of a judge, when presiding over an important civil suit, in which, for example, some influential newspaper company, or a rich and large corporation, employing a large number of voters, or a powerful leader in politics, is one of the litigant parties. Without much discussion, we can conclude that a judge, to attempt at securing his reelection, may use this opportunity of gaining or retaining the influence of the press, which is the most powerful machine in American politics, or the good will of other influential parties, that can procure him votes for the coming election. Some large and rich corporations, being constantly more or less engaged in law-suits, always make it a point of business to seek the friendship of judges, of state, or county or city attorneys, and to ascertain even as soon as their respective candidacies are announced, what the dispositions of these individuals towards their own private institutions will be, in case they shall be elected. Is it very surprising then that a judge sometimes will strongly favor, in conducting a case, or in giving instructions to a jury, the party that is the more faulty in justice or in law? It is further observed that some judges for political purposes, also, more particularly in cases tried without juries, often appear disposed to please both litigant parties in compromising suits; for example, they may award the plaintiff judgment for only one half of the sum sued for, when the entire amount has been well proven.

In this republic, the frequency of elections, the

bitterness of political struggles, the increase of legislation beyond the requirements of the nation; the licentious liberties of speech and of the press, the numerous petitions for decrees of divorce, the lack of conservatism and the fickleness of the people, the difficulties originating from their loose ways of transacting business, their carelessness and extravagancies, and the rapid growth of vices and crimes, have produced such a vast amount of litigation throughout the country that Law itself has become a burden bearing heavily on the nation. A great many business men being compelled to attend the law-courts much of their time as witnesses or jurors or experts, have long ago commenced finding fault with what they regard as an imposition, or the infliction of a great loss upon them; and their complaints have already given rise to a class of professional jurors.

It is often observed that juries have no respect for the courts; discarding evidence, and instructions of judges, they decide cases according to their fancies, their like or dislike, or prejudices, or public sentiment.

In violation of all rules of justice and decency, it is customary for a great many lawyers, especially in cross-questioning witnesses, to harass or confuse their minds with a rapid series of questions, which the coolest and brightest men can not always at once answer with satisfaction and justice to the case. The truth of the matter is; questions are always easy, but answers are some times difficult. Witnesses, and even women among them, are impelled by the

courts of the American democracy to submit to such tyrannical abuses. As lawyers have ample time to prepare their cases and propound their questions, so should witnesses be permitted at least to breathe, and breathe with ease, in giving their answers.

Moreover what is to be thought of a judicial system, under which, many of its officials and judges, who are supposed to set the first examples of austerity and order, spend much of their time in liquor saloons, or in free lunch establishments, drinking, telling stories, or playing cards with political bummers?

Hardly anything is more erroneous than that, in the American republic, suffrage is the basis of the government. Legislation, if not the most difficult, is the first duty that any political institution has to perform; and in no country is the ballot less binding or of less avail upon the acts of its legislators than in the United States. The courts of laws are not submitted to the powers of Congress or of state legislatures, as in the old constitutional monarchies. But while the American people devote more time and spend more money for elections than any other nation on earth, the results of their legislators' deliberations and discussions can be declared null and void by the federal courts, for being unconstitutional. Now, if the American Constitution is so difficult a document to understand or explain, that no one can do so but a few inspired minds in the nation, why is it that the laws are not submitted to their decision, before they are enacted, or, at least, before the legislatures close?

But there are so many legislatures, so many legislators, and so many laws passed, that such practice, would be perhaps, impossible. At any rate, they blindly insert in the statute books, laws, that may, for any indefinite period, lead the minds astray; as their validity is never tested before a suit is brought regarding them, by citizens, before a federal court. If the state law is found to conflict with the Constitution, it is rejected; and some times a special election is held simply to substitute another in its place, which, still, may be unconstitutional.

But politicians will say: "It is chiefly for guarding the people against any errors of judgment, or any possible attempts of their legislators enacting unconstitutional laws that the federal courts have been established." This, not only shows the lack of wisdom in the political organization of the country, but sets the Constitution in contradiction with its fundamental principle, by telling the people in plain language that they can not be trusted for government. This monstrous defect is productive of serious and constant troubles and difficulties, and of tremendous expense which they bear most loyally, while it is of immense benefit to the more favored classes of the democracy. However, there is nothing surprising about such results, when it is known that the difference of opinions between North and South as to the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, regarding State Rights, brought their civil war. The legal or oracular minds of the country explain the Constitution, but

the North and the South, every state, every city, and myriads of individuals seem attempting to act arbitrarily, whether or not they violate it.

It is not alone in their failure to agree upon the spirit and the meaning of the Constitution that the masses exhibit their shortcomings, but principally in their continuing to suffer so much tyranny and so many abuses from an institution whose equivocal principles have cost them already an ocean of blood and a vast amount of treasure. The unconstitutionality of state laws is not approved of, but the political Constitution of the country, in its complex state, is denounced for subjecting the masses to the arbitrary decision of a few individuals. When a law is passed, whatever may be the political organization of the nation, it should remain in force till the people are pleased to repeal it. In all constitutional monarchies, the law-courts, the king, and the entire nation must obey the decrees of legislative assemblies, which are elected by the people. It is therefore evident that under those governments the masses have much more to do with the administration of public affairs than in the land of supposed equality and liberty, though in this republic there are more legislators and more voting.

We do not observe, in any of the American law-courts, that impressive decorum, that awe-inspiring dignity, so morally effective in tribunals of justice, especially upon persons called to testify, and so sacredly maintained in the European countries and

Canada. Some of the spectators are allowed to enjoy the liberty of disgusting others with tobacco chewing, and constant expectorating as they do on railroad cars, on steamers, in hotels and all other public places. The floors in some of the court rooms have received so many coats of saturation of tobacco juice that their material has become imperceptible; and consequently, the atmosphere in those quarters is far more sickening than that in the stables of their celebrated trotters or race horses, for which they seem to have the most profound respect. The judge, before or after sessions, and during recesses, may join the multitude and give or take the weed, and light his cigar. Some men wear no coat, no vest, lean back on their chairs, while resting their feet on tables, in front of the presiding judge, and holding tooth-picks in their mouth. The audience very frequently, is allowed to applaud at, or express its disapprobation of, speeches, or verdicts, by wild demonstrations.

In the land of the free the courts of justice are often the theatres of scandals, and even of terrible scenes. The prisoner is sometimes allowed to interrupt the proceedings of the trial, and to give orders to the court; he may threaten to thrash or even shoot any one that will dare to villify his character either by testifying or arguing against him. He pretends to be a gentleman, and wants the court and every one to understand that distinctly, and respect him, as they wish themselves to be respected. There are frequent exciting tilts between the judges and lawyers,

in which very abusive language is used by the latter. Moreover, if the judge attempts to enforce the rules of the court, some lawyers may surname him Despot or Cæsar, and if he is not very exacting about every trifle, he is in their mind, deprived of stamina or back bone. They some times tell him there is a salvation for the bar, as the next election shall relieve them from his rule; and both the judge and the jury may be hissed at by the audience. The suspension of a lawyer or of a shyster is of very rare occurrence, although there is often good ground for it, except, perhaps, in the federal courts, where a little more respect prevails than in the others. If judges and lawyers quarrel, we can easily imagine what frequently transpires between two rival pleaders engaged in a hotly contested case, presided over by a judge who can not command respect. They often fight, and even draw out pistols, and would shoot, should not the spectators interfere and disarm them. However shooting affrays and murders often occur in the courts; court houses have been declared in state of siege, and troops have been called to maintain order, as at Milo's trial for the killing of Clodius, in the time of Cicero, under the Roman democracy.

Notwithstanding they have already a great many more laws than they can enforce, they are constantly heard saying: "They ought to pass a law about this and about that." It is not new laws that are needed, but the enforcement of the good old ones that came from the European monarchies. When the people

commence enquiring why laws are not better executed, and seriously search the cause of their legislative and judiciary shortcomings, there may be a beginning of light. Politicians must show their constituents pretexts for exercising their profession and intellectual powers as legislators; in consequence of this, no other people on earth are as much annoyed by useless or stupid legislation as the Americans. Laws are enacted against the smoking of cigarettes, with a view to protect young men's health and brains; but the boys who have acquired bad habits from their earliest youth continue to smoke them. Laws are passed against women wearing tights on the stage, but repealed as soon as the people find themselves deprived of a theatrical show. Billiard tables are suppressed in liquor saloons, but while the law remains in force they continue playing in those places. Liquor saloons must be closed on Sundays, but drinking goes on there on such days, especially about election times, as public officials then become more liberal than ever to secure votes for their reelection. In some localities citizens who do not vote, must pay a tax for enjoying a privilege that naturally belongs to every free man.

PROFESSIONS, TRADES, COMMERCE, PLA-
GIARISM, IMPOSITIONS, ACCIDENTS,
CONVICT LABOR, FAKES.

That the white portion of the American people are not excelled in mental faculties, must be universally

conceded. Descending from the most civilized nations of the world, they inherit all their talents and virtues, as well as their faults. From their early youth they show a great aptitude for the sciences and arts, and all other branches of learning. Many of them are born poets or orators, although their genius may be often neglected or remain unknown in early pursuits for money. It is a common occurrence to see a young man of twenty years of age or less, engaged in any branch of business, or in some great speculative scheme. Nor is it rare to notice men of little education, who, however insignificant in appearance, preside with ability, tact and dignity over important assemblies, and ravish their audience by the power of eloquence. No other country can boast of abler advocates at law, of more profound jurists, of more learned physicians and more skilled surgeons than are found in the United States of America.

But evidently there exists in that country, among its bright people, amidst all its public and private schools, a most deplorable state of ignorance, and this evil is the more dangerous as it pervades the classes supposed to be most highly educated. All liberal professions swarm with incompetent or mediocre men of all nationalities; nor can any other civilized country be compared with the great republic, for the number, for the boldness, and for the audaciousness of such practitioners. It is in the land of the free that the politicians or the public officials thrive, who have not studied the science of govern-

ment; the shysters, or lawyers that know but very little of law; the judges devoid of judgment or erudition; the architects and engineers lacking genius, art or science; the surgeons better adapted to butchery than surgery; the medical doctors ignorant of medicine, and the charlatans of all grades and specialties more daring and more pretentious than were the Magi or judicial astrologers of ancient Assyria. Nothing will be said of all the colonels without regiment, and of the generals, or captains, or majors, without command.

It is not alone in professional attainments that a great many lawyers and physicians are deficient. They have not all even received a fair primary education, which, still, is insufficient to qualify those entering into careers of the highest order. They can not write or speak their own language correctly, and are even faulty in the spelling. Mere writing and the first rules of arithmetic constitute the elements of all their education.

Having frequent occasions of coming into contact with a few enlightened persons, and with the aid of daily newspaper literature, they may acquire some little information on various subjects; but deprived of that wholesome training in classics, which alone can furnish students with the key to the most precious treasures of erudition, their minds are filled with superficial knowledge and confused notions. There is nothing that can more assist and develop the intellect of the lawyer, of the orator, of the statesman and of

the philosopher than the knowledge of history. All renowned men of such orders have made a special study of this science and have found it an inexhaustible source of ideas and irrefutable arguments. However a vast multitude of lawyers, public educators and prominent politicians are particularly wanting in this branch of learning. As they often endeavor, in their speeches, at instructing or convincing their hearers in relating to the records of the past, they can greatly amuse, rather than interest, those in their audience that are learned. They are apt to make Philip of Macedonia or Hannibal attempt, instead of Xerxes, at passing the Thermopylæ, in Asia Minor or in Italy; Cyrus or Alexander cross the Hellespont or the Pyrenees as well as the Alps to carry on wars against Cæsar in Britain, and engage Frederick or Marlborough in a conflict with Napoleon. They may represent Demosthenes thundering against Cicero, or bring about an oratorial contest between Eschines and Mirabeau, and lead Scipio or Pompey across the strait of Behring to take Constantinople in the time of Charlemagne or of Queen Elizabeth. They all know that the independence of the United States of America was declared on the fourth of July, but are not all certain as to the year of that important event. It is further observed, in this country, that as some individuals are deprived of all school learning, they are the more easily designated practical men; and a large number of them have never served any apprenticeship in their respective mechanical branches.

Under this constitution of equality, freedom and liberty, one may be successively, a farmer, a lawyer, a builder, a druggist or a physician, a professional politician, a preacher of the Gospel, and may become a gambler rather than going back to farming. Even in the states that have best legislated concerning the qualifications of persons entering the professional fields, are the abuses almost as noticeable as in all other places, because their laws are not strictly enforced.

Now, let us compare with fairness and impartiality the methods of the European countries with the American ways: Under all the governments of Europe, professional students must have first acquired the rudiments of a high education, nor are they permitted to commence practicing unless they have spent several years in the study of their respective professions and be judged perfectly competent after passing through a process of very severe examination. It is not expected that they all be endowed with wonderful genius or transcendent talents, or even be only most accomplished scholars; but it is, at least, intended, in justice to the people, and to the practitioners individually, that none of them be a subject of danger to his countrymen or disgrace his profession by imposture or knavery. In any of the European countries, as well as in America, mechanics and traders are respected and considered indispensable members of society; and moreover, it occurs there too, that some of them possess a considerable amount

of intellect and would be well adapted to any liberal profession or art, had they been educated for it from their youth. But, as it would be absurd to apply to a lawyer, or to a statesman, or to a doctor, for meats, for shoes, or for the building of a house, so do the monarchists think it irrational that they should get their politics, their counsel and their medicines from ignorant men, or from others who have been engaged in the mechanical trades or in mercantile pursuits the most of their life.

The American ways are those of democracy; the European system is that of monarchy. Under the former, ignorant and unworthy individuals are allowed by the so-called government of the people to rival and annoy in practice men of merit; the shyster can lead his patrons astray by unwise counsel; an incompetent judge may deliver wrong instructions to jurors or render erroneous judgments; and the charlatan may make his patients suffer the effects of his ignorance and malpractice.

In politics, as well as in all other professions, are the American people impelled by their system to set their talents and abilities on the same level with ignorance. Men deprived of any merit are promoted to public positions by demagogical influences. Nor can in any country but the United States, such abuses and impositions be noticed. That in any of the European monarchies a relative, or a friend, or a favorite is some times raised to the public service is true, but not unless he is fully qualified for it.

Moreover, the land of the free can not be excelled by any other civilized country for the number of its plagiarists. Although Americans are, like the French and the English, capable of high literary attainments, some of their writers or orators scruple not to clothe the sterility of their brains with the splendor of authors' productions, which they publish or deliver as their own for money or honor. That any individual, conscious of his genius or intellectual powers, has a right to climb Parnassus, or take his seat in the rank of orators, of philosophers, of scientists or of artists, must be plausibly granted; but he who steals from the dead, or plagiarizes the works of the living should be denounced for his meanness, in justice both to his more worthy countrymen and to mankind. No one, in the European monarchies would even venture in such practices; and should he attempt it, he would at once become the object of public derision, or be called to account for infringing upon the rights of others.

What can be more unjust and more detrimental to the advancement of learning in general, and to the interest of individuals or of the entire nation than such a loose system as that carried on in the United States of America?

Under the monarchical rule, worthy men are encouraged to cultivate their talents, and education is promoted for the good of all individuals, because the respective merit of all professional men is recognized and ranks far above the level of ignorance or impost-

ures; and the masses of the people are thus justly guarded against the rise of all unqualified or unscrupulous persons, at least as much as can possibly be expected from the best government.

In the United States, as well as in all other countries, are found a large number of merchants and traders of all classes who can be well depended upon for fair dealings; but, meanwhile, is it doubted that there is in the great republic a vast amount of frauds and deceit carried in all trades? Americans, do you always get the very article you purchase? Do you not often receive oleomargarine for butter, or other inferior produce in place of what you wish to eat? Do you not get common leather for the best French calf, and inferior or adulterated or spurious goods of all sorts in place of what you demand and pay for? Is whiskey distilled, or beer brewed, in your country, out of as good material as is represented to be; and is your so-called wine always the pure juice of the vine? Accidents occur in the best governed countries; but are they not far more frequent in the republic than in Europe? There is in all monarchies, a wonderful system of inspection rigidly carried over all branches of industry and commerce, and the building or repairing of railroads, bridges, steamers, etc. accompanied with severe penalties against negligent or guilty parties. Such laws exist in the great republic, on paper; but are they as well enforced as in the European countries? Oh! you republicans and democrats, who say that republics

raise, and monarchies degrade, the poor; tell us what monarchy in Europe and even in Asia lowers its working classes down to the level of criminals in making them compete against prison labor? Is not such tyrannical abuse carried in the American republic? What do the capitalists of the land of freedom care for the welfare of their employees? Will they not use them as slaves, if the government grants them that privilege? Should it be publicly announced, in any of the European monarchies, by some individuals exciting the people's curiosity to get money from them, that on a certain day, a ship would rise from the earth to travel in the air, and should they disappoint the spectators by failing to move at the time mentioned, the government would enquire into the case, and find out whether the failure of the vessel was due to mere accident, or to other causes. The American democracy, on the contrary, is too indifferent as to the conduct of the country's institutions, and fakes of all kinds.

Now rise up this instant, Americans, and say which government affords more protection to society and individuals against imposition, dangers, frauds and abuses. Is it democracy, or is it monarchy?

PROMOTION OF INCOMPETENT MEN TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE, SPOILS.

The following articles from American newspapers illustrate well enough the incompetence of men very

often promoted to the public service by merely political influence, and also the deplorable greediness and demagogism of politicians and parties.

The Kansas City Times, Saturday, March 18th, 1893.

BEST PARTY POLICY.

The government of the United States is a business more intricate than that of any corporation in the country. The people have a right that their servants from the President down to the commonest day laborer shall be fitted for their respective positions. Yet, evident as are these propositions, thousands of men at every change of administration ignore them and become applicants for positions for which they have no aptitude, or for which, for various reasons, they are absolutely disqualified. They would not have the temerity to seek similar positions in a corporation or ordinary business concern, because proper inquiry would result only in a painful disclosure of disqualifications. They rely for success when they apply for government work not upon their ability to perform it, but upon "influence." If "influence" were always honestly exercised for the public good it would serve as a buffer between the petitions, requests or demands of those not qualified for the positions they seek, and the administration which has but one aim in appointments, to secure the best men for each particular kind of work.

The clamor of those who lack qualification is louder at the beginning of a new administration than at any other time. Mr. Cleveland has spoken to the point on this matter at the very outset of his term. There is no chance for misconstruction in the words of his inaugural address relating to the "demoralizing madness for spoils." There are many men in both parties upon whom the words "fitness and competency" have the effect of the red flag on a bull. Those words will be the passwords to positions under the present administration. The New York Evening Post has some excellent remarks upon the utility of appointing party workers to office. It says in this connection:

"The great mass of the people have no sympathy with the spoilsmen who crowd into Washington and beg for office as a method of living at the public expense. They do not thrill with joy and bubble over with the enthusiasm whenever the President puts a 'worker' into the postoffice or the custom-house. There is no enthusiasm anywhere except among a few followers who hope to obtain personal advantage.

"The party newspapers have no strength left for enthusiasm either, for all their energy must be expended in finding excuses for the selection. But when a first rate appointment is made, the whole country is enthusiastic over it, and has genuine pride in the president who makes it, and the result is an incalculable gain in strength for the party to which the president belongs."

"This is not only true, but it is in the highest de-

gree practicable. It is argued that the best appointments should be made, because the making of the best appointments is the best party policy. There is no weakness in the argument, even viewed with a strict party standpoint. Of course it will be said that if the 'workers' are not rewarded they will be discouraged from further party effort; but, still treating the subject practically, it is a serious question whether work that is dependent wholly upon the reward of office is the most useful for a party. In addition to this, it is obvious that all the workers can not be rewarded. If one, therefore, receives office, while the others do not, it creates envying and jealousies which are highly detrimental to party unity and party success. The best party policy is found in making the best possible appointments."

It is amusing to hear them constantly complaining of deficient men in the public service. If they experience such great difficulties in securing competent officials, why is it that they do not keep them in position when once they have been secured, regardless of their party affiliations? But this would not be democratic. To be constitutional, they must remove a good man from office, and continue blustering and recommending reforms, like the gamins of Paris, who, after applying grease spots to peoples' clothes beg for the job of removing them.

NEGRO QUESTION.

There is nothing that has ever more exposed the danger of party feeling and of men's personal ambition in republics than the manner in which the Negro Slavery question was solved, in the United States of America. When, after the long and bloody civil war, in the continued and heated strife of parties for power, they were so devoid of national pride as to enfranchise their slaves, they, meanwhile, sacrificed to their spirit of rancor and contemptible cupidity the original type of the American people, who had, till that time, ranked among the white nations.

Their democratical form of government, in depriving the nation of a permanent head afforded it no adequate means of protection against a foreign mixture, which, according to a prejudice existing in all countries from time immemorial, has always been considered disgraceful by the great Aryan family. So long as the republican party could secure enough voters to retain their supremacy over the nation, it mattered not to them if its next generations were to be black, white, brown or yellow.

It has always been irritating to hear them attempt to justify their conduct or defend their policy in adopting the fifteenth amendment to their constitution. After the republic had slaughtered or maimed myriads of brave men in useless battles, as the democratic party reproached the republicans with outraging the white people by introducing into the commonwealth

millions of ignorant negroes, the narrow minded element of the republican party replied that, as to education and intelligence, the colored citizens could be compared favorably with a large number of emigrants from Europe. "But," retorted the democrats, with good sense, "suppose that there is lack of knowledge among a class of our white people, is that a reason why we should raise four million slaves to our level?" Had the republicans meant what they seemed inclined to demonstrate by their argument, they would have the more exhibited but their error of judgment; as it was entirely inconsistent with their favorite theory that on the intelligence of the people depends republicanism. This is not all. The republicans, pretending to be actuated by pure philanthropy, proclaimed through the world, that no difference whatsoever existed between the white man and the negro, except in the color, and consequently the latter was worthy of the former. The mission of their party, in the land of the free, was to place all men, they said, regardless of their origin or complexion, on a footing of equality, and promote the welfare of every individual. It is very amusing to hear some of their public speakers attempt to equal the negroes to the white people in mental power. In a tone of lofty eloquence they burst out, saying excitedly: "Our colored population descends from the illustrious race of men who built up the civilization of ancient Egypt, produced a Hannibal and the Carthaginian nation that rivaled the mighty power of Rome." They seem to

ignore that Carthage and all her adjoining territory which she conquered, in Africa, had been colonies founded by the Phœnicians, a yellow-brown Canaanitish nation of Asia, and that the haughty and proud Carthagenians, who originated from them, although they enlisted mercenary troops in their armies, succeeded to preserve the purity of their ancestry's blood, by debarring negroes from admittance to their citizenship. Moreover, it is a mistaken idea that all other African nations were of negro origin. The ancient inhabitants of Egypt, though not entirely free from foreign admixture, were principally related to the Caucasian and Canaanitish races. Their mummies and the figures representing their great men, bear no resemblance whatsoever to the negro, and show that straight, but no woolly or frizzy hair grew on them. Even in the absence of such proofs, does it seem possible or only probable that colonies of negroes could have been the founders of civil government, and the originators of art and science, while their mother-countries, Ethiopia, Madagascar, and others, lay in the deepest state of barbarism?

It is true that since their emancipation a few colored men, in the United States of America, have made some progress both in wealth and education. But what have the masses gained by their right of suffrage, besides the honor of falling into line with the whites, to vote for those who have no use for them but for their own political success? What material encouragement have they derived from the

expressions of sympathy or of deep concern, which, once the republicans affected in their behalf? They form more than one quarter of the republican party, and consequently under any republican administration they are entitled to a large number of state offices and even to seats in the President's cabinet. However, not only in any of the republican states have negroes failed to secure public positions of any importance, but they have remained engaged in occupations only becoming to slaves. The most exalted professions which they practice are those of barber, of waiter, of hod-carrier. Hardly one of them in the Northern states can be seen using any tools but the shovel and the pick-axe, for no young negro can receive more advantage from a republican than from a democrat, to learn any of the mechanical branches. Besides, the great majority of white republicans vote for democrats, rather than for colored men. In slavery, the negroes were assured of their livelihood; now, in freedom, they perform for their liberators only such labor as they did in their former condition for their masters; and in compensation for their exercising their right of citizenship to promote white republicans, a vast number of those colored American voters are deprived, half the time, of the absolute necessities of life, and live in such state of degradation, as can not be described with any degree of decency. Driven to desperation by the prospective impossibility of their maintaining a mere existence, they often go on terrorizing society by thefts, highway robberies, burglary,

assaults on women, and murders. Such is the moral or intellectual condition of a class of citizens, which white republicans regarded once worthy of American citizenship.

Now, the republicans have no excuses or pretexts to give, for not practically aiding the negroes, any more than the democrats do, as they can not deny them a sufficient amount of mental powers to deserve culture and encouragement in commerce, industry, art and science. The insurmountable difficulties which the colored citizens experience, in their new state, are owing to the indisputable fact that both the republicans and democrats are led against them by the same old prejudices. The decrease of republican majorities, in many of the Northern states, as the negro population increased therein since their enfranchisement, must be partly attributed to the reaction produced upon the feelings of the white people by these new citizens exercising their political privileges, when the two classes were brought permanently into close contact with each other.

The whole problem, which has proved too difficult to be wisely solved under a constitution democratic in form, is, still now, a subject of much annoyance to the country. More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the war ended, and the painful memories of that terrible struggle, and the ill feelings it had engendered, have not, as yet, been obliterated. The champions of the republican party, have, for political purposes, incessantly related to the revolu-

tionary spirit of the Southern people, and continue censuring them in their public speeches, for having attempted once to secede from the union. Nevertheless, the republicans whose main patriotic duty was forgiveness and friendly spirit, have, through their implacable resentment and revengeful disposition against the Southern people, proved themselves the more faulty for the grudge that still exists between North and South. The press, this great educator of the nation, and the demagogues, have had, to the present time, an easy task to keep burning in the breasts of the people, those reciprocal animosities incompatible with the restoration of that cordial union, which was intended to be the only logical solution of all past difficulties between the two sections of the country, when peace returned.

It is in private discussions that the most frankness and sincerity is exhibited, generally. And on such occasions the republicans finding themselves confuted on this question, always conclude their controversy by saying: "Well, had the democrats of the Northern states been in our position and circumstances they would have acted exactly as we did to hold the power." This is very true; and in no other case can the republican and democratic politicians of the United States be more depended upon for veracity than when they villify one another. In accusing themselves reciprocally, regarding politics, they always seem infallible.

There is but little doubt that, had the country been

governed by a monarchy instead of a democracy, the union would have been preserved, the slaves would have been emancipated, and the Negro Question adjusted, without war; nor is there anything more certain than that the American nation would still be white, but not octaroon. The inamovability of the chief-magistrate in guarding the throne of the sovereign people against the covetousness of political factions, the identity of his true interests with those of the country at large, his national pride and his ambition of transmitting down to posterity, the honor, the dignity and the glory of his name, would have maintained in the American people the purity of the Caucasian blood that flowed into their veins from the monarchies of Europe.

Now, as a great many colored citizens vote the democratic ticket, and as the republicans have lost their hold upon the government, not a few of the latter and democrats alike are of the opinion that all people of negro type ought to be deported to Africa.

SPECULATIONS, REAL ESTATE BOOMS, EXTRAVAGANCIES.

It is said that the number of disappointed office seekers, in the United States, is upwards of two million. What can be the spirit, the dispositions and the intentions of so many sore heads? How terrible a burden must be on society that vast multi-

tude of individuals, that are, generally, very active in doing nothing, looking with envy and jealousy at their successful rivals, and demoralized by the sight of all those easy and lucrative positions they can not get, but still determined to thrive like all public officials, in ease and comfort!

The demoralizing influences which democratic politics has exerted over the urban populations of the great American republic, by making a great many people attempt to live out of the government, has done more than any other cause to turn the minds of the masses towards wild schemes of speculations, in giving them strong hopes to derive quick and immense profits from small investments.

They say: "It is true, that we can not all be presidents, governors or senators, nor even get any of the lower political offices; but the land of the free owes us a living; and why should we work hard for it, in such a rich country as ours?"

All speculators are more or less visionary, and some of them build, in their mind, castles or fortunes as extensive as their ambition or greediness suggest. There is scarcely any lack of occasion or opportunities for the trials of their ventures. After figuring on a scheme, be it what it may, they arrive at the conclusion that there is considerable money in it. Nor can any one upset the logic of their figures; and he is a fool or a crank, in their estimation, who can not at once perceive the amount of money or the colossal fortunes which they have accumulated on paper.

The operative field in which Americans show most their speculative propensities, is very extensive, and principally comprehends produce, stock, mining, land and building. There is nothing more interesting than to see them carry on their real estate booms, especially in the western towns. In the United States, no group of houses, however so small, is known as a village. If it has but a hundred inhabitants, it is called a city. Suburbs are, in Europe, the portions of cities lying outside their main business centers, but, in the United States, smaller towns, situated at three, five, ten and even twenty miles, away from them.

After a certain period of agricultural or commercial prosperity, or of increase in the population of a town; or on the prospective possibility, or on the announcement, that railroads or bridges are to be built, or a deep water harbor is to be secured, which will rival those of New York, London and Liverpool; that a coal, a lead, a silver or a gold mine, has been discovered, or factories are to be established, or oil has been struck, in its vicinity, the price of its ground is immediately raised to one, or two or three hundred per cent. Not contented with all the vacant spaces between buildings and all the fields that lie within their present city limits, and are generally large enough to hold a population two or three times as large as they already have, they proceed to convert all the farming land around the town into city lots for miles distance. Besides special agents, syndicates

are formed to carry on the real estate business on a gigantic scale. Their operations cover so much territory that they are more extravagant than they would be, had they entered into contract to receive and accommodate millions of emigrants from foreign nations, at a year or even only a few months notice. People come from all parts of the country to take part in those speculative transactions, and even employ the telegraphic wires, asking agents to secure ground for them, expecting a large increase in price from the moment of their departure from home till their arrival at the city of destiny. The size of a city lot is, generally, twenty-five or fifty feet front by a hundred and twenty-five feet in depth with an alley in the rear. All city lots, in corn-fields, on the prairie, or in the pasture, are designated by four stakes for which the plow must, in the future, have more respect than has a democrat for government. Special railroad or steamer excursions are made, with brass bands, headed by the Spangled Banner, to promote the auction sale of those lots, at which roasted oxen and sheep, beer, whiskey and cigars are served, to raise the buyer's enthusiasm. This land which was bought at prices ranging from two to five hundred dollars per acre, is sold for any price from five to a hundred dollars a front foot. Generally one quarter or one third payment is made at once, and the deferred payments in one, two and three years, for which notes are given secured by a deed of trust on the property. Sometimes the speculative excitement extends throughout

the entire Western country, and becomes so intense that the same land is sold two or three times in a day at a large advance in price; the increase of population is so rapid, and this ostensible progress, which nothing justifies, is thought to rest on so solid a basis that they erect not only city dwellings, but also blocks of business houses on those farms, and even in the woods. If all their towns were occupied by as many inhabitants as required to fill the ground annexed to them, during their late booms; and if enough rural land could be settled to support so many large cities as designed by their speculators, the United States would have a population equal to that of the world.

In those times, all branches of commerce, all trades and professions, seemed to be most flourishing, and in the opinion of the majority of people, this condition is to be everlasting. Carried by the speculative wave, merchants, traders, professional men, neglect or relinquish their respective occupations, to embrace real estate. New syndicates are formed, new territories added, and cities of a few thousand inhabitants, now cover more ground than the city of London, in England. Every one is getting rich because every one is selling land. Individuals, who, a few months ago, were destitute of everything, are now millionaires; in fact, the millionaires are more common than others. A reign of splendor, luxury and extravagance is inaugurated, palatial residences are built and sumptuously furnished; gold is as common as brass, and diamonds as plenty as glass, while champagne flows

on all sides. Now, we can see those daisies, and dashing widows, whose one, two or three husbands are still alive, those fascinating blondes with black eyes, and brunettes with blue or grey eyes, enter into engagements for early matrimony; and dudes or dandies in one seat buggies driving fast trotters, fall in love at first sight to-day, and marry the next day. In this incomparable state of public felicity, and while they are engaged in admiring themselves, and attributing their success to their intellectual powers and political wisdom, some bad news is reported, and followed by sad announcements in newspapers. A syndicate or a bank has failed; the construction of a rail-road has been suspended, they struck a snag, or have met with insurmountable difficulties in the harbor; a steamer is stuck in deep water on a rock or touches bottom; there is trouble in the mining company, or the mine is without mineral, or the oil has ceased running. A sudden reaction takes place, seriousness and scare succeeds smiles on all faces. The real estate sellers are already more numerous than the purchasers; shortly afterwards, every one wants to sell out, but none wants to buy. Prices go down, and notes for deferred payments are due and unpaid. They commence finding fault with some company, whom they accuse of unscrupulous methods of operation. All the new people, and even some of the old residents, leave the town. Houses are vacated, and the depression gradually and rapidly increases, till at last, some of that ground, which was

bought once for ten times its value, could not be given away, even with the buildings on it, as this kind of property can not be but a source of expense. This is not all. Now come the sheriff's sales, which may last for many years, and failures, of banks and all branches of commerce and industry. Persons who a month ago were reported worth millions of dollars, are now utterly ruined and plunged into an abyss of debts, whence they can never redeem themselves. The number of law suits has been greatly increased; love has departed, and marriages have ceased; petitions for decrees of divorce are made, on the ground of material negligence, infidelity, or incompatibility of character. When, in the United States, a married man loses his fortune, (and this is a frequent occurrence) he runs a great risk, and it may sometimes be said, a great chance, of forfeiting, the affection of his wife, especially, if she is young and pretty. These financial disasters, and social or conjugal difficulties, are immediately accompanied with a lively period of crimes, consisting of embezzlements, forgeries, burglaries, highway robberies, incendiarism, shooting affrays, poisoning, wrecking of passenger trains on railroads and plundering of banks. This is harvest time for lawyers and for the courts, and, as usual, for the newspapers. Once the latter had made money by advertising the boom, now they continue accumulating it by giving notices of sheriff's sales and other consequences of the collapse.

The rapid increase in the number of real estate

agents in American cities, which is generally considered as the sign of prosperous times and increasing values in real estate can always be depended upon as the precursor of approaching financial calamities.

AMERICAN COURAGE.

Americans, most of the time, seem very morose, even in a state of prosperity, having their minds constantly engaged in deep thoughts over money matters. But they are scarce disheartened by losses or other misfortunes.

The easiest thing, in the United States, is one's losing, in a short time, and even in a moment, all the money at his disposal. If in this country, individual fortunes have no stability, on the other hand, the material resources are so great, and the field for enterprise and speculative schemes, so vast, that they constantly stimulate the courage of men, by showing them various ways of rapidly recuperating from reverses, but very frequently lead them to other pecuniary disasters. A few years ago, it was a popular saying that money was easily made and easily lost, but now it is said: money is difficultly made and more easily lost than ever in the past.

ARE THE INGENIOUS AMERICANS REALLY
PRACTICAL, OR PRINCIPALLY
SPECULATIVE?

The chief boast of Americans is that they are the most practical men on earth. In fact, a people as materialistic as they are, are supposed to excel all other nations in political economy; but, their country's vast resources, their form of government, and their speculative turn of mind have led them to neglect this important branch of philosophy. To their losses arising from all sorts of ventures, must be added others from their municipal extravagancies. For economy, health and convenience, a city ought to be built compact. The mere conception of the idea of a city is itself sufficient to teach that it should end where vacant or farming land commences. Americans annex to their cities, even those not affected by real estate booms, a great deal more ground than they need, and can, consequently, improve with profit to themselves. Some of them say: "We can afford to be extravagant, our country is rich." This is true, but why should they waste away their riches? Others remark: "In America, we have more ground than they have in Europe, and besides it is right to have vacant spaces between houses for air and light." Let those who make such attempts at refutation tell whether the owners of all the vacant land have bought it with a view to give their neighbors more light and more air, or for mere speculation, or to build upon

at some future time? Moreover, those vacant lots, or those vast fields, that lie within the boundary lines of American cities, are but receptacles of stagnant water or dead animals and consequently very objectionable, in a sanitary point of view, and also most favorable to the commission of nightly crimes. Any one should have the right to occupy all the ground he wishes for his residence or for his business, if his means permit it; but, otherwise, there should not be many vacant spaces within the limits of a city, but public places. In order to establish the practice of such regulation, no municipal governments should allow any city street improvements to be made beyond the line of an area of territory capable of holding all the population that can be justly claimed by their respective cities. Metropolitan improvements cost as much on farms as in cities; nor should one expect to enjoy them, who resides in the country.

It is a mistaken idea that any city improvements increase the value of property, except when this property is bringing a revenue. Nothing can substantially enhance its value but a permanent increase of population which can only be supported by various material interests, and principally agriculture, industry and commerce.

In most of the American cities, miles and miles of streets are laid with sewers, pavement, curb-stone, sidewalks, for land which in many cases will not be occupied for twenty and even fifty years from now. These immense and unnecessary municipal achieve-

ments are said to be carried on as speculative schemes, which cost the people very dearly and ruin a great many of them, for promoting the interests of a few aldermen, and monopolists or contractors. It is also observed that the boundless rivalry, and the intense feeling of jealousy existing among American cities help considerably in making them exaggerate their importance respectively. With a view to gain wealth, each of them attempts to invite investments or enterprise by impressing the minds of the people abroad, through census reports, with the superiority of its material advantages over those of all others; and for this purpose, it sometimes annexes a territory capable of holding a million inhabitants, for adding but a few thousand to its population.

They are extravagant both in contraction and in expansion at the same time. The idea of erecting stores and office buildings exceeding eight or ten stories in height, is ridiculous, even in New York City, whose southern portion is confined to a narrow strip of land between two rivers. But what can be said of the unparalleled extravagancies of the city of Chicago, of those buildings of sixteen and even eighteen stories in height built on artificial foundations, and whence, after an hour's walk, we fall in cabbage or pumpkin fields, or in swamps, or in the woods? The City of London, in England, with an area of less than a hundred thousand acres, has a population of nearly five million. Chicago, having a population of less than a million and a half, occupies

a territory of about a hundred and ten thousand acres; and the largest portion of its inhabitants are very poor, and live in very small houses or are crowded in the apartments of the larger ones.

That Chicago has been the fastest growing city in the country is well known, but meantime it is the largest field for wild speculative schemes. Nothing illustrates this better than the immensity of its preparations for the Columbian Exposition. Its inhabitants, elated by their victory over New York City, were at once led astray by the prospect of their becoming the principal center of attraction for the world. From the time Chicago was selected as the place for the great show, their anticipations have been boundless till its opening. As if they had had the assurance that most people of the country and large numbers from all parts of the earth would visit their city on this occasion they immediately set at work to build, and put up enough hotels and houses to accommodate millions. They were to receive for the renting of rooms any price they might ask, as the supply of them could never equal the demand; and hotels erected at the cost of several hundred thousand dollars were to do far better than to pay for themselves in the short period of the exposition. Their great expectations, unfortunately, have been followed by great disappointments. About four months have elapsed since the beginning, and thousands of rooms are vacant, begging for tenants at extremely low prices; most of the new hotel keepers

and proprietors of other business establishments are losing money, and many of them are already ruined.

It is certain that the stringency of the money market and bad times throughout the country have greatly contributed to their losses. But this is not of rare occurrence in the United States; and such are the hallucinations of some professional speculators as to always consider every object but on its brighter side. In supposing that the whole country would have been prosperous this year, there was nothing to justify such financial outlays, both in the city itself and in Jackson Park.

A beautiful city was built up on the Fair Grounds. This is acknowledged by all people, and reflects high credit upon the taste and skill of Americans. But the exhibition of the products of nations, and not the buildings, was to be the chief object of the enterprise. Besides, magnitude and quantity seem to have been considered paramount to all other requirements in this exposition. It covers too much ground, and amidst its splendid displays, contains too many articles unworthy of notice, to allow even intelligent visitors to examine most of its good things in six months and even in six years. In the whole it is a tremendous and pompous spectacle, and the mere sight of it is worth much to any one, were it only to gratify his curiosity. But as to its educational influence, as well as from a financial point of view, it is a failure. An immense area can be traveled over, and a great deal can be seen, but very little can be learned.

WHY IS IT THAT MUNICIPAL GOVERN-
MENTS IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
ARE BETTER THAN THOSE OF
THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC?

While republicans and democrats denounce the monarchies of Europe, they often and justly recognize, upon comparison, the superiority of their municipal governments over those of the United States.

An article of "The Kansas City Star" of Kansas City, Missouri, advocating reforms in the governments of the American cities, and citing those of the European countries as their models, is quite interesting, as it reflects the sentiment of a vast number of American citizens, and also exhibits their inconsistencies in their expecting that municipal governments could be generally secured, that would promote the public good under a democratic form of government.

The Kansas City Star: Kansas City, Missouri,
Saturday, September 19th, 1891.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

"Public attention in this country has recently been directed to the subject of municipal government in a way that ought to bring about a general reform in the administration of American cities. Contributors to the standard periodicals which circulate among the people, have been writing much upon the subject,

and by drawing the contrast between the methods of government in the cities of Europe and those of the United States they are showing how imperfectly the true idea of local government has been realized on this side of the Atlantic. The ideal results which have been achieved in Edinburg, London, Paris, Berlin and, in fact, in most of the populous centers in Europe, by adhering to the policy of considering only the public good in the expenditure of the public funds, at least demonstrate grand and vital possibilities and the knowledge that such governments exist elsewhere may do something towards enkindling a desire to imitate them in this country.

“It is a humiliating admission to make, but it is nevertheless true, that there is not an important city in the United States which is governed with a view single to the greatest welfare of its people. It is an almost universal rule in this country, that the men who operate the machinery of municipalities give comparatively little thought to the public, and consider it only in relation to the effect which its estimate of them may have upon their individual interests. They are in the business, so to speak, for what they can get out of it, and while these professional officeholders are taking care of themselves and their strikers, and ‘the party,’ the essential object of all government—the greatest good to the greatest number—is forgotten.

“The tolerant spirit which the American people have manifested towards the rings which control so many

of the great cities of this country and the apparent indifference of the public to the disgrace of such a condition of things is simply phenomenal. It is diametrically opposed to the patriotic spirit which prevails throughout the Republic and the sense of probity and decency which is a distinguishing trait of the American people. It defies explanation and baffles understanding. It is a puzzle for which no one has furnished a solution. The evil will probably continue to grow until it reaches a degree of enormity that will make it unbearable and then there will be a swift and radical reform.

“The apathy in Kansas City in respect to matters of local government is probably no greater and it is certainly no less than it is in the majority of American cities. Here, as elsewhere, the politicians who desire the offices for their own individual aggrandizement and who hustle for them get the places and keep them from year to year. The municipal government is little more than a machine which is used for political purposes. This fact is realized and admitted by a sufficient number of voters to change the entire system of local government, but the protest ends in a mere censure of words, and the politicians and spoilsmen continue to run the machine. Public sentiment in Kansas City can be aroused to effective action on almost every other question than the one vital issue which concerns the welfare of the people more intimately than anything else—namely, good local government. BLAINE clubs, CLEVELAND

clubs, tariff reform clubs, protection clubs, can be organized by the score, on the shortest notice. Men will howl themselves hoarse in encouragement of their pet national issues, and will carry torches and march miles through dust and mud to show their loyalty to a cause which, of course, concerns them in a general way, who will not raise a hand or a note in favor of a reform which bears directly upon the welfare of their families and the prosperity of their homes.

“But are not the people interested much more vitally, after all, in the proper management of their local affairs than they are in national legislation? Are not municipal reform clubs a greater necessity in this city than HARRISON or CLEVELAND or BLAINE clubs? Why should not organizations looking toward a purification of the municipal government be organized in every neighborhood in the city? Is it not demanded as a means of promoting the health, the comfort of the public and as an aid to the proper application of the taxes paid by the people for the maintenance of the city government? The experiment is at least worthy of a trial. There is a wide and growing dissatisfaction with the present system of local government, and a general desire for reform. The only way to bring about a change is for the people who are tired of the reign of the politicians and spoilsmen to unite in a well directed movement for new methods. A clean progressive municipal government would do more to aid the material pros-

perity of Kansas City than anything else, and its necessity is emphasized by the tokens of an impending business revival which will carry Kansas City a long way forward if the people in their capacity as voters and as guardians of the public welfare are true to their duty and make the best of their great opportunities."

The Kansas City Star, in attempting to inspire the citizens of Kansas City with public spirit at home, can not but the more stimulate their selfishness by the tone of such an article as this. While it recommends them to give more attention to their municipal than to their national affairs, it unconsciously leads every one to say: "Why should I care more for the city's affairs than for my own?" In the American democracy this rule is generally adhered to: Every state for itself, every city for itself, every ward to each city for itself, every street for itself, every family for itself and every individual for himself, but no institution to bind the country and the citizens cordially together.

American educators and philosophers, how can you consistently continue to cherish your democratic Constitution, while you lament over its deplorable effects upon the character of your people? Here is an idea that will help you to solve the problem which seems to perplex your mind; and if you raise, for a moment, the bonnet of liberty that blinds you, you will immediately become enlightened:

The character of all municipal institutions, in every

country, is generally formed by the principles of its national government. The city councils of the European countries are sound and promote the public good because monarchy directs them in the path of justice, by constantly preserving the interests of the people, and closely watching over all their institutions; but, on the contrary, your municipal governments are corrupt and opposed to the welfare of your cities, merely because your democratic constitution, however so apparently plausible and wise on paper, leads your citizens astray. Were not the monarchies of Europe far better adapted than democracy to govern nations, their municipal governments would not be of a higher character than your own. Now, philosophers, is the question of good municipal government still a puzzle to you?

The next statements from American newspapers contain proofs of such state of corruption as exists in many states, counties and cities.

DEFRAUDED OF A HUGE SUM.

SENSATIONAL CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE PENNSYLVANIANS,

“PHILADELPHIA, PA., MARCH 19, 1891.—Recent revelations at Mercer, Pa. disclosed the fact that the state of Pennsylvania has been robbed of more than \$1,000,000 in mismanagement of the soldiers' orphans' school. The illegal profits of one of the ten

big schools amounted to \$270,000, and this school was one of the three that were controlled by a syndicate.

(The names are here omitted.)

"Considerable part of this sum may be recovered as the persons here named have retained \$750,000 of their profits. The statute of limitation does not work against the commonwealth.

"The alleged gains appropriated by these men were acquired in direct violation of the law without contract of any kind."

AN INVESTIGATION ORDERED.

"Harrisburg, Pa., March 19.—Mr. P—— of Delaware county introduced a resolution in the house to-day, which was unanimously adopted, authorizing the appointment of a committee to consist of three members of the house and two senators to investigate the amounts expended by each of the soldiers' orphans' schools each year from 1875 to 1891.

"This is a result of the charges published in the 'Philadelphia Record' this morning to the effect that recent revelations at Mercer, Pa., disclose the fact that the state had been robbed of over \$1,000,000 in the management of the soldiers' orphans' schools.

"The committee is directed to report the result of their investigations at as early a date as practicable. The senate subsequently concurred in the resolutions."

THE COST AND THE VALUE OF NEW YORK'S CROTON AQUEDUCT.

Extract from newspapers: "New York's Croton aqueduct has cost that city \$26,000,000 of which all but \$8,000,000 stuck to the fingers of the handlers of the fund."

CAPITAL AND LABOR. COMMUNISM.

The relation between Capital and Labor is thought by a large number of persons to be such a deep question, and so many different opinions are expressed regarding it, that enough matter could, probably, be gathered in to make a book quite interesting to them. This, however, will not be attempted.

Capital and Labor, which often stare at each other with drawn daggers, are so intimately connected that they can not be separated; nor is it possible that their difficulties be adjusted, in any country, under the present state of civilization. Their reciprocal attitude can only be governed by the same natural law which regulates that of the supply and the demand, in all other cases. From time immemorial, and principally in the most civilized states, the scarcity of hands has increased, and the abundance of them has decreased, the premium on workmen, as it occurs for gold, wheat, corn, or any other commodity. Both Capital and Labor would cease to exist, for a

time, immediately their operations would begin to be ruled according to the communistic ideas.

The mere attempt, on the part of workmen or servants to dictate to their bosses is inconsistent with the rights of individuals, and with justice and order; and whenever any one finds himself impelled to obey the command, or accept the regulations and rules, of his employees, it is time for him to quit business. Moreover, should at any time an equal division of all the property of the world or of any country be made among the people, how long after this would another repartition become necessary?

A French Communist, and enthusiastic tribune, once proposed, in a public speech, that all the wealth of his country be divided in equal shares among the population. "Let us commence by your own property," shouted out one in his audience. Then the speaker retorted: "I can not afford it, I am worth only one million francs; and I mean a division of the fortunes amounting to more than mine." Some persons are naturally inclined to communism when their own property is not in it, or when they have nothing. A great many individuals of communistic ideas have, no doubt, in late years, emigrated from Europe to America and accumulated large fortunes. But, are they still, now, communists?

Communism in high civilization is but the outcome of a false democracy; nor is any condition adapted for it except a complete state of agriculture, in a very small community, governed by religion.

It was possible, among the Hebrews, for a short period in the time of Abraham.

ANARCHIAL TENDENCIES.

GROWTH OF CRIME. INCOMPETENCY OF TRIBUNALS
OF LAW. LYNCHING.

The masses of the American people do not seem much alarmed by the deplorable condition of their politics; but notwithstanding their incredible feeling of indifference, it is evident that the evils, which always bring about the downfall of republics, have already made their appearance in the land of freedom, and are rapidly undermining its political edifice. If their free institutions were resting on a sound basis, why should there exist that bitter strife between political parties for public offices and spoils; why should the democrat and republican constantly spirt over one another the venom of their vicious animosities; why should clubs or leagues of public safety, of law and order, or protective associations, be formed, for the purpose of checking the growth of political or social corruption? These self-constituted bodies in exercising their censorship, over the acts of their legislators, is productive of no good but showing the existence of the evils complained of, and their lack of confidence in their own officials.

What signify all those insults so often proffered

against the President of the Commonwealth, and that hanging of State Governors by so-called law-abiding citizens? Are they not the forerunners of Anarchism? It is the state of public insecurity in the republic which has given rise to that army of private detectives, and of private policemen, such as were hired and armed by individuals to resist the attacks and demands of workmen at Homestead.* In what country, except a republic, has a body of men ever been organized in times of peace, to perform the service of government troops without the order or consent of the legal authorities? Such extreme and arbitrary measures show how strongly the people feel that they have to depend on their own exertions to protect themselves. But are they not stamped with the seal of anarchy? However these abuses are but trifling incidents when compared to all the monstrosities that affect the American Commonwealth, and any sensible man, open to conviction, can easily see that the Constitution is the very principle of the state of anarchy which has at last established itself in the country. What are we to say about that régime of lawlessness now carried in all parts of the republic? Is it not the precursor of approaching calamities, if effects can be safely traced to causes? How is it possible that, in a country which has received all the advantages of European civilization,

* In the year 1892 a riot was carried on by wage workers against an iron manufacturer, at Homestead, Pennsylvania; and in the absence of government troops, men performing private detective or patrol service were called upon or hired to repel their attacks.

not only ignorant or disreputable classes, but a great many people from the most respectable orders of society carry arms; that, not only men, but even women, indulge in shooting? Why a murderess should, in committing her crime, use poison, or other like means of destruction, can be explained by the weakness of her sex, while a man having recourse to such methods should be considered the meaner and the more cowardly; but, that she would have the manly hardihood or courage to carry or seize a pistol, the deliberate coolness of loading it with deadly bullets, the determination of pulling the trigger, and retain sufficient steadiness and vigor of nerve, not to miss her aim, illustrates the high degree of depravity and desperation which some people are apt to attain under a régime of political or social license. This reminds us of Charlotte Corday who killed Marat, under the French democracy.

To do them justice, however, it cannot be said that they are all hardened criminals, who handle fire arms. They use them, not always from wickedness, even when they fire first, but because they are conscious of the necessity of protecting themselves, knowing that as every one is moved by the same feeling, they may, in any difficulty, be shot down, unless they be prompt to overthrow their adversary.

It is the disrespect for laws and the weakness of the judicial branch of the state legislatures, that has caused the inexorable tribunal of Judge Lynch to be established. Until a few years ago, lynching had

remained confined to the new territories lying beyond the frontiers of civilization, but it has, at last, gradually introduced itself into the union, and has kept pace with the growth of American civilization. It is now carried in many of the old states, and threatens to invade all parts of the Commonwealth, and take the place of jury trials in most criminal cases. The slow and unreliable administering of laws, the alleged unjust and unexpected rulings and verdicts from the courts, are the causes that incite mobs to assume the judicial power against the accused parties, for protecting the community against their own officials and juries whom they accuse of taking bribes for acquitting criminals. Nevertheless, lynching, however more effective and more economical than American law-courts, proves the more the incompetency of the democracy to deal with vices and crimes; for it is nothing less than murder in the first degree, whether or not its victims be guilty.

What can be more shocking to humanity than that in one of the richest countries of the world, pretending to enlighten all nations, and constantly boasting of their achievements, in times of peace and material prosperity, citizens of the great republic would rival the exploits of barbarians, in burning or devastating court houses, in taking prisons by assault and in dragging out, shooting or hanging, defenseless persons, like dogs, even after they have been acquitted by the law, and according to the Constitution. If any nation on earth should enact a law that any

person guilty of murder or other heinous crimes be hanged, shot down, or burned without any form of trial, would it not be denounced by all the world, as barbarous and most atrocious? And is not the carrying of such unlawful methods more cruel still than such law would be? Where is that protection of all individuals, the realization of those great principles of equality, liberty and fraternity, that are so strongly asserted by the declaration of man's rights, and the American Constitution? Both republicans and democrats always seem much concerned in the political affairs of Europe and especially of Russia, and pretend to know enough of them to express their opinions upon the policy of their governments. They show much sympathy for the Russian exiles, while they condemn the Czar's rule for sending them to Siberia; but they are blind to the atrocities that are practiced in their own country. Why should they impute the punishment of criminals or political offenders in Europe to barbarism or despotism, when, in their democracy they allow prisoners and even innocent persons to be unmercifully put to death or tortured without even the beginning of a trial. It is no exaggeration to say that the American republic offers the world the gloomiest and the most hideous spectacle that ever was exhibited by any government, since the times of Robespierre, as the licentious freedom of their institutions is gradually driving the people towards barbarism. All fair-minded people may reasonably wonder that such acts of ferocity and

cowardice be perpetrated upon individuals; that society be thus disgraced and terrorized, with impunity, in presence of a president, a congress, forty-four legislatures, and forty-four governors, an army of lawyers, judges and other judiciary officials, far more numerous than those of the Western European nations combined. And, were it not known by the world, could it be credible that those patriots, in office, should look upon such horrible scenes with placidity of mind and should have the effrontery to draw out salaries from the government, and that millions of Sovereign-voters would manifest a most profound apathy in being confronted by such a régime of iniquities?

Yet, a great many citizens rise above this state of impassibility only to express their satisfaction or rejoice at such atrocities, and are so conceited and so vitiated as to ideas of liberty that they attribute the worst kind of anarchism to their strong nerve or to their abilities for free government, not conscious that they sanction, by their approbation of those acts, the violation of that very Constitution which they constantly proclaim as the only rule for a free and enlightened people.

For proof of the assertions made, regarding crime and lawlessness, in the American republic, read the following article, containing a statement of a prominent American Judge touching that subject:

The Kansas City Times, Kansas City, Missouri, Thursday, February, 9th 1893.

"CRIME'S ALARMING GROWTH."

"Judge I. C. Parker of the United States District Court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, has long been in a position to observe criminal instinct and its progress. Criminals by the score have been brought before his court at the eastern side of the Indian Territory and from it have gone dozens of men condemned to die for murder. Fort Smith has great notoriety for the number of official hangings that take place there. At no other point in America are as many murderers tried.

"With an excellent knowledge of the growth of crime, Judge Parker's opinion on that vital subject is of more than ordinary interest. With statistics at hand, he says that there has been a marked increase in the number of murders committed. In 1889 the known murders in the United States were 3,568. In 1890 they reached 4,290, in 1891 the figure was 5,908 and in 1892 it was 6,791. This is an alarming increase in view of the boasted growth of the nation's morals and intelligence. In four years over 20,000 known murders have been committed in this country. The fault, says Judge Parker, lies in the laxity of our laws. There is too much indifference, says he, too much sympathy, too much influence and too much boodle.

"Judge Parker sets about to prove what he says in an ingenious but not logical manner. In 1890 only 102 hangings accounted for the 4,290 murders com-

mitted in that year, while the number of lynchings by mob law was 127. For 5,908 murders done in 1891 there were 128 legal hangings and 195 lynchings, a marked increase in mob law. In 1892 there were but 107 legal executions against the 6,971 murders, while the lynching reached 236. This, according to Judge Parker, proves that the people, unwilling to wait for the slow processes of the law, have taken affairs into their own hands. It would rather prove that the masses are also becoming imbued with the instinct of bloodthirstiness. Public unconcern at great crimes is growing. Accounts of butcheries that would have blanched the faces of men 100 years ago are calmly read by women and children of to-day. Human life, at the present rate of its decline in value, will soon be worth as little as in the time of Robespierre.

“The court at Fort Smith, says Judge Parker, with a sort of grimness, rarely fails to convict when there is any good evidence of guilt. It has a way of getting there every time, as the melancholy records of the Fort Smith hangman will show. As a result, he argues, there have been but two lynchings in the territory under his jurisdiction in over eighteen years. Here is another point on which Judge Parker’s argument is lacking in sequence. The outlaws who infest the territory do not care enough for crime to lynch a criminal. The small proportion of the population which would take part in a lynching to restore law and order is unable to lay its hands on the murderers and thieves who commit the crimes.

"In a recent charge to the grand jury at Fort Smith Judge Parker set forth the statistics here quoted, together with voluminous arguments to show that the vigorous enforcement of the law is the only protection for the innocent. There must be more hard work among the officers, the judges and the jurors. Too many murderers are free to-day, he says, and to this fact is attributed the alarming growth of capital crime. If the law were more vigorous there would be more thinking before the awful crime of killing a fellow being would be committed.

"Again is it opportune to suggest that the churches of the country are not doing the work that they are expected to do. Temples of worship are springing up all over the land, yet unalterable, cold, figures say that murder is more frequent than ever. If the churches do their whole duty the law will not have as much to do. After moral law the law of man should be the rule. In the case of a murder the rule is reversed, for it is only the shadow of the hangman's noose that drives the shivering, crouching wretch to the priest and his crucifix.

"After Judge Parker's presentation of the growth of crime it is time for the churches of the country to take some concerted action toward getting at the people outside of their membership. They should not let this assertion that only the law protects the innocent stand."

This extract, from American papers, illustrates the development of democracy into barbarism:

FIRE FOR A BLACK FIEND.

ANGRY TEXANS TORTURE AND BURN AN INHUMAN
WRETCH.

"PARIS, TEX., FEB. 2.—Henry Smith, or Dowery, the negro fiend who brutally outraged and murdered a three year old girl, was burned at the stake this afternoon after he had been seared from head to feet with red hot irons.

"After being bound the wretch was tortured for fifty minutes by red hot brands thrust against his quivering body. Every groan from the fiend, every contortion, was cheered by the assembled people.

"The first to apply the brands were the child's father, brother and two uncles. Beginning at the feet the red hot irons were placed on the victim's body inch by inch until they reached the crown of his head. Mercy was totally foreign to the torturers. Death and its arrival could not be too slow or terrible to satisfy their horrible desire for revenge. The shrieks of the negro were awful. Fiery brands were passed up and down his seared and bleeding back. His eyes were burned out and red hot irons were thrust down his throat.

"The men of the Vance family having wreaked vengeance, the crowd piled combustible material around the scaffold, placed cottonseed hulls about Smith, saturated everything, the apparently dead negro included, and then applied a lighted match. The negro rolled and wriggled and jumped out of the burning

mass, only to be pushed back by the people nearest him. He tossed out again and was roped and pulled back. Hundreds of people turned away, but the vast crowd still looked calmly on. In a few minutes he was dead."

Now read part of Section 2, of Article III, of the Constitution, and its amendatory Article V.

Article III. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed.

Article V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment of indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Now, you see, democrats and republicans, how inconsistent are your actions with your principles. The law of your country gives you a command, and you disobey it. Consequently it is your original part of the Constitution that disqualifies you for trials by juries established and successfully carried by all monarchies,

and it is the same paradox that renders your institutions so weak that they can not justly and effectually deal with vices and crimes.

When lynchers or their adherents attempt to justify themselves, by alluding to the quiet and orderly manner, in which illegal executions are carried on, in the republic, they can well be compared with those women who keep houses of prostitution, and meanwhile, pretend to maintain in them order and respectability.

This is not all. When thus confuted, instead of acknowledging their inconsistencies and their wrongs, they exclaim: "Public sentiment rules in this country." Public sentiment is good enough at the polls under a monarchy. But, where is the man so devoid of knowledge or common sense, as to deny that that very feeling is the meanest obstruction in the administering of justice? There is nothing more dangerous, in a democracy, than that capricious like or dislike, that love or hatred; it is injustice and disorder, it is anarchism itself.

Are the Americans very certain that their lawlessness shall remain confined to its present limit? Are they not aware of the disposition of most men to enlarge their domain of liberties, that the more freedom they enjoy the more they desire, and the more they take when there is no restraining power over them? Can they not foresee that, if any class of citizens are now allowed to assume the judiciary power and decide upon the fate of any accused, the time

will gradually and insensibly arrive when there shall be no safety whatsoever for any one in their land of freedom, when secret organizations or clubs shall be formed and arbitrarily remove from the world all those whom they may consider opposed, in any way, to their interests? The French democracy of Robespierre and Thomas Paine, of the last century, will, hereafter illustrate those monstrosities. What could be a worse reign of terror than that in which innocent and orderly people, as well as criminals, should be constantly exposed to the daggers of assassins? Although the American Constitution seems to have specially provided for the care of man's private interests, no individual, under it, is more secure than the nation.

Now, republicans and democrats, can you notice in any of the European monarchies such a reign of injustice and disorders as exists in the American republic? Can you cite a single case in which any prisoner, no matter how poor or guilty, is put to death, or even receives but a light penalty, without a trial under the monarchical rule, which you take so much pleasure to villify? It is now clearly demonstrated that the same principle that crowns a child, even in the cradle, protects a nation far better during his minority than does that which promotes a citizen to the chief-magistracy, however so great a statesman he may be. How can it be expected that laws be executed, and the dignity of a government be maintained, by a president, by governors, by judges, whose heads fall every few years?

The rigid and just administering of the laws, is of greater importance to a people, than electioneering or frequent changes in the personnel of the government; therefore the Constitution of the United States, in its most vital points, is far better carried into effect by any of the European monarchies than by the American democracy. How can we respect a political institution which can not command respect, or reasonably cherish a political institution, which, although it guarantees to every State in the Union a republican form of government, fails to protect society?

If this is not deemed sufficient to refute Thomas Paine's nonsensical "Man's Rights"* which were considered unanswerable by most of the republicans, much more can be said upon that subject.

A class of native Americans, while acknowledging that the administering of the laws in monarchies is far superior to that of their republic, frequently burst out saying: "It is the foreigners who cause all the mischief among us; our Constitution is right, and we natives, reared by native parents, and educated in our public schools, are capable to live and behave well under it; but the Europeans are not competent for democratic institutions. Nor should they be admitted to American citizenship before understand-

* "Man's Rights" is the title of a book written by Thomas Paine, an enthusiastic but absurd sophist, in defense of the principles of the Republican Party of France, in the last century against a pamphlet published by Edmund Burke, of England. Burke's views proved true, and those of Paine, false.

ing the theory or the spirit of our Constitution or of our government, in general; and they ought to live among us long before knowing our ways perfectly, and conducting themselves properly." Why should foreigners have to live in the United States so long a time, to understand the ways of the natives and the principles of their institutions? It would be far better for the nation, should foreigners never look at the Constitution; for no sooner have they thrown a glance at it, than they see in it a possible chance of their making a living out of the government without work. Although it appears from all the different opinions, and modes of interpreting the American Constitution, that it is such an enigma that but very few oracular minds in the country can explain it, it is observed that the greatest fault of foreigners or of naturalized citizens, in the American democracy, lies in their sufficient knowledge of that Constitution which they propose to use to their best individual advantage, as do most of the natives. It is true that they were brought up in principles of restraint, and educated to respect the established authority of their respective countries, but they very soon acquire the ways of the land of the free from the moment that they land on its shores.

The native's dissatisfaction with foreigners has sprung up from another cause than the incompetency of the latter for free government. At a time when there was, in the United States, a great scarcity of hands for the amount of work to be performed in all branches

of industry, the Americans were exhibiting much concern in the condition of the working classes of the European countries, and were cordially inviting them to their republic ostensibly for improving their condition. Under their boastful pretense of emancipating mankind from royal despotism, ignorance, pauperism and vice, men of various characters from all countries on earth, were allowed to find asylum under the Stars and Stripes, and yet American statesmen, and the press, until lately, have always expressed a favorable opinion of their behavior. The truth of the matter is; the foreigners were to them, at that time, a great source of revenue; and it is only in the last few years that the natives commenced finding fault with them, at that very time, when the inequality of fortunes was rapidly establishing itself in the country. A republic that had espoused the cause of all dangerous fanatics and political agitators, in the countries of Europe, should have naturally expected to be visited by men of anarchial propensities. However the characteristics of the average emigrant from Europe of to-day, are not worse than at any time since the republic was founded; but there is a vast difference in the circumstances of the country. When all laboring men in the United States, either foreign or natives could find plenty of work to do constantly, they could behave themselves well enough, while boasting of being the kings of the nation. But for many years past, thousands of foreigners have landed on the American shores to find themselves incapable of earn-

ing a livelihood. It is not alone the constant increase of labor-saving facilities in industry or in manufacturing, which is detrimental to the working classes. So many men depend on political plums and soft snaps, that industry is considerably neglected. The resources of the country, being developed but on the surface, are, in a measure, paralyzed by abuses. Moreover, as the wealth of the nation is flowing in the hands of but a few individuals, it is reasonable to believe that the monopolizing influences of politics are greatly opposed, in all professions and all branches of industry, to the interest of those who are not professional politicians.

It is now time for Americans to perceive that there are, in their republic, too many men among both natives and foreigners, attempting to thrive on politics alone; nor until they shall arrive to this conclusion, shall they be worthy of comparison, even with the ancient Egyptians, for political wisdom. If their Constitution is failing at a time when their country has no more than twenty inhabitants to the square mile, what shall be its effects on the people, when their population shall have greatly increased, can not be determined. This is certain; the old assertion that, the principles of their institutions would stimulate the growth of the country, can no longer be maintained, and is now refuted by the fact that their alleged advantages have brought with them fresh difficulties, which now confront the nation and bid fair to develop into issues far more serious than the tariff or other such questions.

In this régime of bitter strifes, tribulations, and acrimonious disappointments, it is natural enough for the people to be dissatisfied with their state of affairs. If some natives have changed their feelings towards foreigners, on the other hand, the latter, in opening at leisure their eyes to reason, find more faults, more abuses, and more tyranny, than they have experienced in the European countries, or have been imputed by Paine and Victor Hugo to monarchies; and consequently, they think themselves justified to enjoy the unbounded freedom of speech, promised them at the outset, by Americans themselves, by running down in all manners the institutions of the great democracy.

Almost all nations have their great share of vanity and self-esteem; but nowhere can be found a set of men so conceited, and so bombastic, as are seen in the United States. When they are not engaged in making money, or talking of money, or clothes or horses, they devote their leisure time in praising themselves, and boasting of their achievements. Had they been the creators of their country, and if all its large crops of corn and wheat, its tremendous herds of cattle, and its mines of all kinds, were the products of their intellect, they could not be more pretentious, more proud, and more arrogant, than they are now. Attributing the rapid development of their country to their superiority over all nations, in intelligence, in education, and in behavior, calling themselves the modern Saxon people, they seem disposed to impress others that they were chosen, and set aside by Prov-

idence, as models for all nations; that possessing all the good, but none of the vices, of mankind, they can never be induced into the temptation of doing any wrong for any consideration. And, while they hold the foreigners responsible for all their evils, they claim themselves all the credit for their country's advancement.

These prejudiced individuals seem sometimes horrified by the misdemeanors of foreign residents or of naturalized citizens. Nothing is more amusing than to observe them, on some occasions, assuming their airs of philanthropy, of dignity, of outraged innocence, of sanctity, of angelic chastity, posing as the censors of the people's conduct, as public benefactors, infallible counselors and world enlighteners. In exhorting foreign elements to good behavior and to the practicing of virtue, they earnestly recommend them to study the Constitution and the laws of the United States, that no one knows nor shall ever know, that but a few respect or shall ever respect. Some of them are so silly as to suggest to Congress the advisability of exacting from every immigrant a certificate of good conduct before admitting him in the holy family. They seem to ignore that the same individuals who may deserve such certificate in Europe, may become mischievous immediately he touches the land of freedom, and merely because the criminal laws are well administered under monarchies, but not under the American democracy. Notwithstanding all this, they want the world to believe that

were it not for the vices of all those foreign paupers, anarchists and malefactors, their republic would be stamped with the seal of Heaven. Such ostentatious outbursts can not but render them ridiculous in the eyes of the world, and of the better portion of the native Americans.

Generosity and charity are easy virtues, in theory, but have no merit, when practiced for revenue. If the American people, at the outset of their republic, were animated by such philanthropic feelings as to declare themselves the champions of public liberty, and the healers of human sufferings and vice, why should they desist from persevering in their noble endeavor? They should better afford now to exercise their liberality towards mankind, than at any time in the past since the declaration of their independence, for their incomparable inheritance has yielded them enough treasure to place them at the head of all the wealthiest nations of the globe. Are they not proving untrue to their principles, and to their solemn promises, when, born in opulence, they scorn the very class that gave them birth, and are now exposed by their circumstances to the rigors of fortune?

Is it by employing their wealth in carrying on a style of splendor and extravagance, by seeking the company or the acquaintance of the European aristocracy, or nobility, or by buying foreign titles for their daughters that those democrats intend to execute their original plans of emancipation and enlightenment?

However mankind, with all its faults is magnanimous enough to relieve the native citizens of the great American republic from all their pledges of benevolence, and can excuse them for acting inconsistently with their declaration of man's rights. Every nation in the world has commenced learning that their democracy exists in print, but not in the hearts. People abroad are well aware of the fact that the party of native Americans, clamoring so loud against the foreign element of their population, have no ground to find fault with them, but the intensity of rivalry for political offices and keen competition in all branches of industry, trades, professions and commerce. Moreover they know that Americans have nothing to spare, or give other nations, but need all their energies to correct their own evils, and all the income of their vast amount of riches to support the extravagant and costly system of their republic, by gratifying the greediness of their patriots, and keeping their army of politicians in idleness, in clover and in plums.

Be it as it may, it can not be, in a population of upwards of sixty million, the casual appearance of a few political cranks, such as were the Chicago anarchists, or other fanatics of like character, that imperil the American Commonwealth. Nevertheless, the most dangerous elements of the republic often exclaim: "We feel proud of our country, of our Washington, and of our Jefferson; and the fact that our government has stood for more than a hundred years, goes

far to prove the competency of all native Americans for it." It is impossible not to recognize the excellence of a vast number of citizens, in the United States; and as to the natural advantages of the country, they are well known by the world; but it is not less true, that its political institutions are very defective. Civic virtue, it is said in the beginning, is the most essential requirement of a democracy, and without that virtue, democracy is a failure. Nothing is more clearly demonstrated than that the institutions of the republic, viz.: the elective system, the tribunals of justice, the press, and most of the schools, are the cause of all the woes of the people. Amidst such a concourse of tremendous evils, it is evident that the wonderful nature of the country, and of the nation's circumstances, enables rapacious politicians to thrive, and rejoice over a Constitution, that favors or encourages their iniquities. But were the Commonwealth depending on their patriotism or integrity, how long yet could it maintain itself? And is it an honor that it stands in a state of corruption? They have the right to be proud of their ancestors and cherish their memory. In republics, to public spirit, chiefly belongs national glory. The statesmen or the citizens, who remain true to their trusts, and the valiant defenders of popular rights deserve more veneration than philosophers, or the most famous conquerors. Such were some of the old Roman democrats, and such were the forefathers of Americans, those illustrious men, who have immortalized their names

by their sacrifices and their virtues. But now democrats and republicans, what would your Washington, your Jefferson, and other authors of your Constitution say, if raised alive from the dead? Would they be very proud of all of you? Would they find your behavior in harmony with their principles? What would they think of that demagogery, of that bitter strife for money and power, of that licentiousness under the appellation of liberty, and of that mutual hatred, under the boast of fraternity?

Far from thinking all foreigners, whether ignorant or educated, capable of properly governing themselves under such free institutions as those of the American democracy, it is again asserted, right here, that so large a number of them are, naturally and otherwise mischievous, that not only a strong restraining power is wanted over them to protect society, but they are apt to commit the most heinous crimes that could be imagined, even in monarchies, which chiefly depend on the prompt and rigid administering of the laws to preserve justice and order. Therefore, as such is the case, how can any one reasonably manifest any surprise at their failure to behave well under a political Constitution, which supposes every individual adapted for free government. The native Americans would have the right to impute all their political or social difficulties to the foreigners, were they all themselves patriots, or free from vice or crime. Are they all like their virtuous ancestors, or better than the most depraved foreigners? Let us see whether

or not they all have the right to claim a superiority in virtues and in good conduct over all other people:

Who are those bandits that conceive and carry out the diabolical designs of wrecking passenger trains on railroads, and killing large numbers of innocent people, for robbing them, or taking revenge on a few individuals; those other daring, yet cowardly, brigands, distinguished by the surname of "hero," that bring the most powerful locomotives to a stop, and order people on board to lift up their hands, for plundering the mails, express agencies, passengers, and tear the ears of your fainting wives and children to secure their last ornaments; are they not all natives? Who are all those individuals of supposed exemplary conduct; public educators, newspaper editors, jurists, statesmen and politicians, who scandalize the world, by vomiting upon one another the dregs of their vituperation, by their shooting affrays and murders; are they foreigners or natives? Those ravishers of virtuous women and little girls, those kidnappers of children whom they hold at ransom; those shysters that always endeavor to promote litigation by stirring up troubles, those blackmailers and sharpers that live in luxury without work or apparent means of support; those physician-poisoners, killing at short or long range; those precocious youths, and hardened criminals at the age of sixteen years, who murder for stealing a few dollars to procure tobacco, whiskey and prostitutes, tell us frankly, honest Americans, are they all foreigners or almost all natives? Those

reputed orderly or law-abiding citizens, who under a mask, despite your Constitution, and in face of all your tribunals of law, are despotic enough to usurp the judiciary power, and before the World and Heaven, so daring and so barbarous as to massacre or torture defenseless persons; are they not almost all natives? Those bribed judges and juries, if any, those pretended patriots and philanthropists, who have robbed the cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and others of millions and millions of dollars, those absconding and defaulting bank cashiers, and city, county and state treasurers, trusted for their virtues, who rob the people, including poor widows and orphans; are they foreigners or natives?

Oh! democrats and republicans of America, you are asked to answer one or two more questions: Do those classes of criminals, come out from religious schools, which you are pleased to call the schools of ignorance and superstition? Are they not almost all pupils of your public schools, the products of your broad gauge institutions, the most enthusiastic admirers of your free Constitution, and the most vigorous opponents to strong government? Are they not among the eulogists of Thomas Paine, who exalt him above all the wisest and best men that ever lived, and even Jesus Christ?

THE STATUE OF BARTHOLDI.

SCIENCES, ART, LITERATURE, INVENTIONS,
FINANCES, POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

The French people, in presenting the Americans with the Statue of Bartholdi, have but manifested their usual disposition to munificence and adulation. Whether they were, in this action, actuated by motives of mere speculation or whether they felt themselves scrupulously bound by duty to acknowledge in the American people their pretended abilities of successfully carrying the principles of democracy, which they themselves had once inaugurated at home, but failed to preserve, is not ascertained.

Be the case as it may, that gift could not have been the token of gratitude for any favors or acts of benevolence; as the Americans had never rendered the French any service. But, on the contrary, the latter had been the benefactors of the former, for it is not doubted that the Americans could not have so soon secured their independence, had the French not espoused their cause against England.

The Americans, in accepting the statue of Bartholdi, and setting it up on a pedestal in the port of New York, as the symbol of their superior wisdom and civilization, have simply erected a monument to Art, which France far more deserves than the United States is entitled to the exalted credit of enlightening the world, politically or otherwise.

In what branches of learning the American people excel most of the European nations, they say not. Let them bear in mind that, generally, merit is modest and mediocrity brags of its achievements; and as they are justly indebted to a share of the world's regard, they should the more refrain from self-praise. It is universally known that many useful discoveries have been made in the American republic; and this could be naturally expected in a new and advantageous country, opening the broadest field of industry to the most civilized and most populous nations of the earth.

It was well said, once, that necessity, principally, was the mother of inventions. Inventive genius, concerning mechanical arts is stimulated by difficulties to be surmounted and by the scarcity of hands, and discouraged by the opposite circumstances.

The first sewing machine was invented in France by Barthelemy Thimonnier, 1830. After he had set up about eighty machines, in Paris, making military clothing, his establishment was wrecked by a crowd of infuriated tailors. However the inventor was not discouraged by this; and he obtained a new patent on an improved instrument, which he also introduced into England. But he met no more success here than in his native country, simply because, in densely populated countries, labor-saving machines were not, at that time, deemed necessary.

The failure of this ingenious invention, both in France and in England, was not likely to encourage other mechanical discoveries, in any of the European countries.

Evidently, it is easily seen that the inventing of thrashing-machines, or of other such labor-saving instruments, besides the sewing-machines, in the United States of America, were due to necessities resulting from the scarcity of hands, rather than being attributable to the intellectual superiority of a people over others. Nor is it to be disputed that in many cases, foreigners, were, in that country, the real authors of many important inventions made in the name of native Americans, who furnished the capital for the success of such enterprises.

The Telegraph was not only the production of Samuel Morse's genius. Many individuals of various countries had, before his time, made discoveries leading to it; and his contemporaries accomplished enough towards it to insure its success; and Morse himself had spent four years of his most laborious studies in the scientific schools of England.

The use of the Telephone was introduced by Alexander Graham Bell, a native of Scotland, then resident in the United States; and Philip Reis of Friedrichsdorf had advanced some valuable theories upon that subject.

Steam-engines were known before the Christian era, but very little progress was made, in this line, till the seventeenth century. From that time, a large number of scientists made wonderful discoveries concerning the use of steam.

It is in the Forth and Clyde Canal, in Scotland, that the first steam-boat was successfully tried; this

was soon followed by another moved by side paddle-wheels; they were the inventions of two Scotchmen, William Symmington and Henry Bell, respectively. Afterwards the American, Robert Fulton, aided by Boulton and Watt of Great Britain, constructed one on a greatly improved model, which navigated on the Hudson river.

Railways were used in England upwards of two centuries ago for the transportation of coal from the mining districts to the seashore. At first their railways were made of oak; the first improvement on this was a flat wrought iron rail, and after this came the cast iron rail with an inside side-flange. Then appeared the cast iron edge rail raised above the ground and the flanged cast iron wheel. This was succeeded by the wrought iron rail, 1820. To Sir Henry Bessemer, English engineer, the world is indebted for the valuable and cheap process of making steel known as Bessemer steel. The first locomotives were constructed in England and traveled between Manchester and Liverpool, 1829.

Some people are of the opinion that electricity was a discovery of but a few years ago, and the result of one man's intellectual effort. Nevertheless, Aristotle, Pliny, Thales of Miletus and other noted individuals of ancient times, tell us that electricity was known 600 B. C. But, as a science, it made no progress between the fifth and sixteenth centuries of our era. To the Americans, the French, the English and the Germans, is the world owing the most for its modern discoveries.

Not only in this branch, but in all other scientific or artistic subjects have the ancients contributed to modern civilization, with this difference however: The ancients had to originate principles, and the moderns having the experience of the past ages are, in a great measure, guided by them in their own productions.

As to elevators in buildings, they appear to be American inventions; but, though they are thought very convenient by many, they are considered by others very objectionable on account of their being very costly and a source of constant expense, of danger to life, and of damage suits.

Electric or cable railways in the commercial parts of very populous cities, present similar advantages and disadvantages.

Judging from their effects, can it be said that such discoveries are not extravagant, and can really promote the happiness of a people? This is certain: They have a tendency to relax their natural energies. Since they are in vogue, in the United States, most of the people in cities can hardly walk the distance of a quarter of a mile, or go up or down one flight of stairs.

A régime of civilization, constantly endeavoring to develop the caprices of men and gratify all their desires, is inconsistent with the policy of any government that intends to rear a vigorous or military nation.

The best and finest wearing and furnishing goods are manufactured in Europe, and European cities

lead the world in styles and fashions. Printing was invented there, and powder, in China.

Abstract sciences, fine arts and literature are the chief attributes of a high civilization. France, England, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland, excel in those careers. Americans are hardly worthy of a parallel even with the Russians, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the Swedes.

There are, in the United States, many skilled architects, engineers and painters, but a large number of them have made their professional studies in the schools of Europe. The Americans, though erecting some magnificent buildings, have no architectural style of their own. All their most important structures and even those of the Columbian Exposition, at Chicago, however so beautiful, have been designed according to the various styles of the European countries.

Americans enabled by their wonderful talents to produce master-pieces in literary productions, are no longer impelled to have recourse to English authors or to translations from foreign languages for interesting reading, upon all subjects. They have a Longfellow, a Hawthorne, a Whittier, a Prescott, and many others. However these are only a few of a large number equally as brilliant as them, but almost ignored or unfavorably known by the world. The main fault of almost all American literati is to write for immediate or quick profits; and to attain their object they see nothing better than to substitute

high sounding phraseology, superficiality and mere sensationalism for deep study, research and logic. And the seal of the Dollar that characterizes their compositions, makes them unpopular, and is often the chief cause of their financial failure. Nothing can more exhibit their lack of patriotism than the absence of a national history capable to arouse the enthusiasm of the reader. Even their Muses, not less related to Supernaturalism than those of other nations, yielding to the influences of the times, descend from Parnassus to mix with republicans and democrats in the field of politics and speculative schemes.

The Americans excel all the nations of Europe for Dentistry, but the Europeans are superior to them in Obstetrics, according to their respective requirements.

If the American people had been led by their institutions to cultivate their talents for good purposes, they would, no doubt, make a better use of the wonderful advantages which have been so lavishly bestowed upon them by nature and by the monarchies of Europe. Excellent education and public spirit, in dividing their attention between riches and other estimable objects, would suggest to them ideas of moderation and economy, and, aided by the happiest circumstances in the world, would enable them, at least, to govern the Money-Market of nations. If they excel not Europeans, as financiers, how can they maintain their claims, in any capacity, to a superiority over them, when money itself is the chief subject of all their studies and exertions?

How many millions and billions have their crops, their mines, and their manufactures yielded them in the last hundred years? To one not thoroughly acquainted with the magnitude of their source of supply in almost all commodities of life, the sum would seem merely fabulous. Meantime the necessities which they have to import are very insignificant, when compared with their exports. What are these necessities but, tea, coffee, cinnamon, pepper and the like?

It is true that the United States is now richer, even in accumulated wealth, than either England or France. But is not this phenomenon the triumph of the country's resources over its bad government? Why is it that financial panics so often occur in that country? There is always a great deal of money in the republic, but its scarcity in circulation, at times, is owing to the existence of a set of individuals, allowed to carry on the profession of speculating on the people's circumstances, to the uncertainty of politics, to the strifes of political parties and of individuals for power, and to the improper or corrupt administration of public affairs. Do the people believe that the associations of speculators with government officials, for the purpose of defrauding them, have ceased since the times of the Star Route and Whiskey Ring scandals? Monopolists, in all lines, may put up all sorts of jobs on the intelligent people of the United States; they may wreck fortunes for monopolizing, and inflate their values, when they have

monopolized them. Is this practice not incessantly carried throughout the country, on wheat, corn, pork, stocks of all kinds, and even on silver and gold?

The policy of the Russian Czar and of the German Emperor, in seeing that prices be not extravagantly raised on wheat and other absolute commodities, forms a striking contrast with the régime of rapacity to which the sovereign people of the American republic are constantly subjected, and is another strong proof that monarchy affords nations far greater protection than any republic, or "the government by the people." But republican or democratic demagogues will characterize those Emperors' concern for the masses, as autocratic, despotic and inconsistent with the advanced democratic ideas of this nineteenth century.

Nor is it doubted that millions upon millions are incessantly wasted. How is that money expended? Very little, it is presumed, is paid out for titles of nobility, because not enough of them are for sale. Is it for railroads and other enterprises? But all the labor, and all the materials, required for them are secured in the republic; it was even twenty-five years ago that railroad rails ceased to be imported from foreign countries. Besides, foreign capital has been, and is yet considerably employed in building up the country, and great shares of its improvements are owned by foreigners.

They may say that their civil war has left them in debt for nearly three billions. This amount, how-

ever so great, is small yet, when the revenue of the country, since that time, is considered. It is not intended here to repeat all the utterances of a great many Americans expressing the opinion that that war could have easily been ended in its second year. They are too terrible to be mentioned without positive evidence. Nevertheless, the removal of George McClellan from the command of the Northern armies, after he had forced Lee to recross the Potomac, by the battle of Antietam, can be fairly compared with the accusation brought against Miltiades, in Greece, after winning the battle of Marathon. If the condemnation of one is not always just after his defeat, it is strongly presumable that, after his victory, it is suggested by envy, jealousy, or by infernal plots.

A frugal mode of life, we have seen, is the only régime consistent with a wise democracy. This was, for a short period, the rule of the Greek and Roman republics; but in the state of infancy of the American democracy the people must have the finest clothing, silks, and the most costly luxuries. Moreover, while they boast of their intellectual superiority, they put on their magnificent style with the manufactured products of those very monarchical nations which they ridicule and pretend to enlighten. Hardly anything can be more astonishing and more significant than that some of these peoples, not having near enough to eat at home, but being compelled to work to procure food, and buy it principally in the United States, are, meantime, the bankers of the world, and even the creditors of Americans.

Injudicious financiers, spendthrifts and wreckless speculators, no matter how much money passes through their hands, are always in pressing want of it, always clamor for it, and always hope for better times to come. It is quite interesting to notice the people in the United States almost constantly complaining of the scarcity of money. Before 1888 the people were finding fault with the government because its coffers were overflowed with gold. Soon after Mr. Harrison's election to the presidency that money was freely put into circulation, and afterwards they cursed his administration for having emptied the treasury.

In the spring of every year the entire population seems destitute and eagerly awaits the conversion of their large crops into money. They sometimes express earnest wishes for a general war among the nations of Europe, that they may sell them their produce at high prices; and often say that the President should call a special meeting of Congress to relieve them from financial distress. It is, however, an error for them to expect that their interests can be substantially promoted by a special act of legislation. When politics has been ruinous to a country, true and lasting prosperity can only be brought to it by a long period of wise government.

Not only the French, the English and the Germans, but all the nations of Europe have proved far better financiers than the Americans, when the means at their disposals are respectively considered.

How can the Americans justify their pretensions to excel all other nations in political knowledge? All causes are generally judged by their effects. Even previous to the time of President Andrew Jackson, American politicians had commenced begging for public offices and attempted or succeeded to live cut of the government. When they want a position they all pretend to favor public interests, but when they have it, too many of them are, body and soul, for themselves. This at least, is the extent of their political science, saying nothing of corruption. The masses, while acknowledging the existence of deplorable evils, see nothing better than to submit to the abuses and tyranny of their public officials or politicians, who call them cattle or otherwise insult them in the bargain.

When, in a great civilized country, we contemplate that mass of people moving about in all directions, of different ideas and dispositions, but every one of whom, having a single object in view, that of his own personal interests, and using his best endeavors to surpass all others by accumulating riches, we must necessarily admit that democracy is not adapted for such a state and is but an utopia in principle, and a scourge in practice. Nothing can more illustrate the incompetency of the masses for free government, in any country, than the necessity of placing, at the crossings of the main streets, in large cities, policemen with clubs in hands to maintain order and protect the rights of every individual. Were the people

deprived of such means of protection against their selfishness, they would be constantly fighting and slaughtering one another.

The rapid material progress of the republic, which a great many attribute to their political wisdom, is, we have observed, but the effect of causes entirely foreign to their institutions. The largeness of their territory, their state of infancy, and their great natural resources still enable the people to preserve their democratical Constitution, and are, in the opinion of professional politicians and ignorant persons, sufficient substitutes for patriotism. Under these happy circumstances, aided by their false and dangerous notions of politics, they have steadily grown with the country, selfish, daring and rapacious, till at last, the principal achievements of their democratic institutions have been laxity of laws, lynching, political and social corruption, a lack of mutual confidence, an epidemic of divorces, crimes of all sorts, decrease of births, a government so effete and so indifferent, and a régime so extravagant and so reckless, that resources capable of supporting many hundred million inhabitants, hardly suffice for their small population.

Evidently it is not the dim light of the Statue of Bartholdi that enlightens the world; and it can well be said here that the Americans have received the greatest inheritance on earth, high civilization, unparalleled advantages, wealth, talent and genius. They lack one thing, "A government."

IS THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC ECONOMICALLY ADMINISTERED?

The press, sometimes, treats upon the economical administration of the democracy in comparison with the monarchical rule, and at other times relates to the great expenditures which the people have to make for exercising their Sovereign prerogative. Their estimate of cost of the last presidential election amounted to twenty-two million dollars, including both the republican and the democratic conventions held for nominating their respective candidates. Can they state the price of all their other elections, in the course of four years? Now the financial losses incurred by the people, through their periodical stagnation both in commerce and industry resulting from the frequency of elections, the uncertainty of their politics, the incessant changes in the personnel of their government, the unforeseen or unreliable policies of new men in office and their lack of practical competence, at least for a time, can not of course be computed; but, considering the magnitude and the value of their country's interests, they must certainly be enormous. When, to this vast amount are added their expenses of keeping their politicians in money and in high spirit, the most extravagant law-courts on earth, an army of lawyers, shysters, judges and other officials far larger than the nation needs, not even speaking of all pensions paid out, can it be said that the American democracy is economically

administered? At any rate, their total expenditures, including waste and loss, setting aside all the robberies, must, no doubt, exceed the cost of the maintenance of the two greatest European monarchies. But, what is this, when their wealth, and their Sovereign privilege of voting frequently, are considered?

INCONSISTENCIES.

It is quite entertaining to hear some politicians boasting of their individual power as sovereigns; they say: "In our country, we are not governed; no American would ever tolerate any rule over him." That this assertion is true can not be denied. Intelligent people of all nations know that the Americans are not governed, nor is there the least doubt in their minds that a large amount of the population in the republic are opposed to the existence of any government worthy of the name. But, while they acknowledge that they are not governed, it becomes hilarious to notice their inconsistencies, in adding, that under their Constitution, the people govern, all individuals govern, and every citizen is a king. They all command, but no one wants to obey; yet obedience is more essential to the maintenance of a sound government and the prosperity of a nation, than commanding.

It is in their controversies or discussions with foreigners touching the merits of political institutions,

that the Americans most exhibit their inconsistencies, and their departure from their principles. While their Constitution gives all people the liberty of publishing or expressing all sorts of ideas and opinions, and while the press and individuals bitterly denounce the monarchial principles for restraining the liberties of speech and publications, they sometimes become incensed and even enraged at a foreigner that dares to find fault with their government. They are not offended by his alluding to the corruption of politics, for they acknowledge that themselves, but still, they are only the more inconsistent to censure him for imputing the evil to their free institutions.

Finding it impossible to refute their adversary's logic, they immediately enter into personalities exclaiming: "If you were talking that way in Russia, they would send you to Siberia; if you do not like this country, why do you stay in it?" The press, the statesman, the old woman, the school-boy and the school-girl, have nothing else to say in responding to sound arguments on this subject, and seem to be at their wit's end after such utterances. They look around them with an air of dignity, coveting approbation or applause from their hearers, for their herculean success at refuting their opponent. The truth of it is; they are completely without a case, in such discussions; and nothing makes it more apparent than that the same men, who are then at a loss to find a plausible defense, are sometimes very talented, and skilful or prolific debators in legislative

assemblies or in law-courts, and possess sufficient power of reasoning to convince, not only jurors, or the masses, but even the most learned jurists.

One may like a country, and live in it, for its resources, while he may reasonably hate its institutions. If he is in Russia, he must obey the laws of the Czar's government, which forbids any one criticizing it, and if he fails in his obligations, he may be deported to Siberia, and this is perfectly right. On the contrary, if he dwells in the United States of America, he can speak as he pleases, as its Constitution gives every individual that privilege. Consequently, he who runs down the American institutions, while living under them, acts in perfect accord with their Constitution, and they are wrong who censure him for doing so; and the more unjust to villify the monarchies for restricting the liberties of the press and of speech. And should any abuses arise from any one's criticism adverse to American institutions, it is merely the fault of the Constitution itself for granting the people more freedom than they can safely enjoy.

Why was Governor Altgeld censured and burned in effigy for pardoning the three surviving Chicago anarchists? It is one of the political prerogatives of a President or of a Governor, to liberate any convict. And whenever he feels disposed to exercise his will, in any case, is he going to submit it to the votes of the people? According to the principles of the American democracy, the Governor of Illinois had also the right of criticising the judgment of the tribunal that

condemned both these men and the others that were hung, although they might have been guilty of the most abominable crimes. It is not here intended to uphold any class of anarchists; on the contrary, the right of every individual in a nation to publicly express all kinds of opinions, is characterized as anarchism itself. When a chief-magistrate is guilty of any malfeasance in office he should be legally prosecuted, but it is highly improper and even anarchistic to assail his conduct or insult him in any case. Such tyranny is observable only in republics.

We censure the democratic institutions of the United States of America, first, because we think they are defective; and next, because it is our privilege; and we afterwards show their weakness for giving the people the right of censuring them. The moment the government should commence restricting the liberties of speech and of the press, it would cease to be a democracy; but in this case we might no longer perceive any great evils in it.

When they have no liking or fancy for one, or when one does not conform to their views in all things, they call him a "Crank."

HUMORISM.

Some Americans are able to attain the highest degree of humorism. When it is the least expected from them, even at times when the effects of their

political shortcomings are most seriously felt throughout their country, they often burst out exclaiming: "We have the best government in the world;" and they make such utterances without a tremor, without a jest and without a smile, and look as serious as if they were meaning every word they say. As actors they are renowned for tragedy; they had a Barrett, a Booth, and have others yet; they can also be favorably compared with the French for comedy.

CONDITION OF POLITICS IN THE PRIMITIVE STATE OF THE AMERICAN COMMON- WEALTH.

THE ADMIRERS OF THOMAS PAINE, VICTOR HUGO, AND
OF THE AUTHORS OF THE CONSTITUTION ARE
INVITED TO COMPARE THE PRESENT
CONDITION OF POLITICS IN THE
AMERICAN REPUBLIC WITH
THAT OF ITS PRIMI-
TIVE STATE.

In the beginning of the republic the people were enjoying "freedom and liberty," but were not always uttering those words, which are words of bombast or nonsense when they are only uttered. Honesty was not on the tongues, it was rooted in the hearts. They were fond, not only of good reputation, but of good character also.

The oath was a moral force which the state could depend upon, for administering justice and preserving order in society; but perjury was not a practice, nor the base stone of the republican machine. They were not boasting of having the best government on earth, nor accusing or censuring their public officials for not executing the law.

Men or women were not under the necessity of carrying concealed weapons to protect themselves, or lynching criminals to guard society against the commission of crime. They were not fast in vice and slow in justice, but fast in justice and slow in vice.

There were no schools yet to diffuse bad education among the people, or imbue their minds with the idea that money alone must be the object of men's worship and ambition, no vile literature to assist in training them in false knowledge; no venal press pretending to preserve the interests of the Commonwealth, and recommending the enactment of laws favoring the sole interests of corrupt rings or corporations; no professional lobbyists kept in constant pay, and busy in working up through legislatures the schemes of bosses or party leaders.

They were not making their freedom and liberty consist partly in disobeying or insulting, but they always obeyed and regarded, their magistrates, with reverence, because, however so ignorant they may have been, they had common sense enough to know that, as the people's sovereignty lies in their public servants, all respect or courtesy shown them, were,

in the meantime, a just tribute of homage to the nation itself.

No politicians could be found, who would betray or abandon their respective parties, on account of their country's interests having been served first. The new magistrate-elect was not compelled to fall out with men of his own party, for not rewarding them for their political support. The republic was not considered as a market for the sale of public interests, or distribution of appointments, salaries or commissions; nor the public good, as an object of contention between rapacious politicians. The country was not run for the government, but the government was run for the country.

There were no government agents, to rob tribes of Indians or other ferocious barbarians of their just dues, and thereby provoke them to avenge such outrages by raiding and slaughtering their civilized neighbors.

There were no greedy or unscrupulous office seekers, but the right man was sought out for every public position.

The courts of law were not held for promoting litigation, by means of long, useless and repeated trials, for spending lavishly enormous sums of public money helping the interests of the legal profession, and supporting an army of shysters. They were not constantly talking about laws and money, but justice was carried out.

The "Enquirer" of Cincinnati, Ohio, like other

Papers from which quotations are made, is one of the principal sheets of its locality, and besides, one of the leading and most respectable organs of the country. Then its statements contained in the next article, as to the abuse of laws, and the danger of personal ambition and indifferentism of prominent political men in the American republic, become the more interesting.

The Enquirer. Cincinnati, Monday July 3, 1893.

"It is a strange reflection upon the criminal jurisprudence of Cincinnati that a warrant for forgery should be formally issued and should be held secretly in hand for two days in order to enforce the collection of a debt, with the agreement that the warrant will be suppressed if the debt is paid. Did anybody ever hear anything about the compounding of a felony?"

"Ex-President Harrison has been talking, and perhaps talking too much, about the financial situation. He is convinced that the Sherman bill is the cause of the trouble, yet he assails Mr. Sherman, as the latter does himself, upon the plea that such a measure was a necessary compromise in order to defeat free coinage. It would seem that the gentlemen explain too much or too little. It was well known that a free coinage measure could not pass over a Presidential veto; but, as Benjamin Harrison, then President of the United States, was arranging for a second term, he did not desire to veto any silver bill. That is why the alleged 'compromise' was made—

that is why the Sherman bill went through."

Mr. Editor of the Enquirer, under what form of government but a democracy can such tricks and such compounding of a felony as you here mention, be introduced into practice?

Again, can you now logically assert that the interests of a President of a republic are always as identical as those of a monarch with the prosperity or greatness of a nation? *

USELESS ATTEMPTS AT REFORMS.

Without any of the irrefutable proofs that have been brought to the support of the assertions against the political and social condition of the country, the mere allusion to schemes of reforms suffices to illustrate the existence of vices in the republic. And in what country can we find so many reformers as in the United States, which is supposed to be the most virtuous commonwealth on earth? But although these public educators point out some of the faults which this work exposes, failing to state the true causes that produce them, they are at a loss to suggest a remedy capable of alleviating the woes of the nation. Therefore, the people should view the plain statement of facts herein contained with much less acrimony or indignation, than the pretenses or idle efforts of their reformers, who are either too blind to discover, or too unfair or too timid, to exhibit the

source of their evils; and were they open to reason and conviction they should receive it with satisfaction while blaming none but their own institutions for their shortcomings.

It being evident that democracy leads people astray, its educators in wondering why politicians should be corrupt, and the masses should become frivolous, are just as absurd, to say the least, as if after building a single road from one place to another, they would express great surprise to see travelers coming through it to their point of destination. When those champions of public morality exhort the people to civic virtue and assert that political vices are most detrimental to the maintenance and prosperity of the Commonwealth, citing for examples, the republics of Greece and of Rome, which fell from such causes; when they complain of men's disrespect for the established authority, and of the bold commission of crimes; when they recommend the enactment of stronger laws, and of the infliction of severe punishments upon all guilty parties, notwithstanding their excellent intentions, they unconsciously excite in people their passions, and point out in most vigorous expressions, the effeteness of the American democracy. All their exhortations, instead of being productive of any good, can not but promote the growth of those very evils they wish to eradicate from society. Unscrupulous men are easily convinced by such utterances that politicians must be individually benefited according as the state suffers from a régime of injus-

tice; that corrupt politics is a profitable business for politicians, that they can have but little to fear from a government which is too weak to command respect. What do they care for the future of the Commonwealth? It matters not to them whether or not history shall repeat itself, and the same causes that have ruined all other republics, shall also ruin the American democracy, so long as they can aggrandize themselves. Their own arguments, then, can not but demonstrate that a republic is a dangerous government for a nation.

Yet, as if their institutions had attained the state of political axiom, they consider them so perfect that they never think, a moment, of imputing to them their difficulties and shortcomings. In their superstitious devotion to their Constitution, they are very comical in ostensibly searching the causes of their woes and in suggesting their various plans of regency. They sometimes ask: "Is marriage a failure? why should people marry? If there were no marriages, there would be no need of divorces. What is the use of spending money for weddings and separations? Marriage is a contract like any other between two partners in any branch of business; and when one is getting tired of the other, he should have the right to dissolve partnership." All sorts of ideas and sentiments are expressed. One says that people should be better educated on the importance of money, as if they had not already learned too much about it. Some suggest that Christianity should be

abolished; others say that the people should join the Salvation Army; that the Bible should be revised to harmonize with public sentiment; that a church ought to be established, called "The Church of the People," but without priests or ministers. Some say that office holders should receive twice as much salary as they do now; others are of the opinion that they should receive no pay whatever. One says that he who kills a president, should be slowly burned to death; if he kills a governor or a senator, he should be a little burned and hung, and if he murders any ordinary citizen, simply hung; if he kills many persons, he should be tortured; and if a negro rapes a woman, he should be terribly tortured from feet to head, and be compelled to swallow fire. A vast number of sovereigns think that the criminal courts should be entirely dispensed with, alleging that their being useless institutions, the people, in all cases, should take the law in their own hands. Others recommend that all citizens should close their business establishments or offices, to attend the primary electoral meetings to select good men as candidates for public positions.

The following extract of an article published in October, 1892, in the "Forum" of New York, by Mr. David Dudley Field, is not devoid of interest; its subject is:

THE PRIMARY THE PIVOT OF REFORM:

"The voters are vehemently solicited at every general election to rush to the polls and save the people

from ruin. But if the nominations are bad, how little is the use of votes. The truth is that the voting plays a secondary part in a New York City election. It is the nomination which turns the scale for good or evil, and the primary makes the nomination. If both parties should nominate good candidates, good men would hold office, whichever party won the election. There may indeed be elections in which great principles are at stake; but the occasions are rare in which the voter is obliged to choose between a good policy with a bad candidate and a bad policy with a good candidate.

"The practical politicians jeer at us for our simple folly. This is what one of them said the other day: 'It's great sport to see people go to the polls in hordes and vote like cattle for the ticket we prepare. Reformers don't begin at the right point. They should begin at the point where nominations are made. The people think they make the nominations, but we do that business for them.' What a boast of profligacy and shame. 'Sport,' is it, to see one's fellow citizens led like cattle to slaughter, thinking all the while that they are going to pasture? How long shall we endure this profligacy and hear this boast? *Civis Romanus* was a boast; has *civis Americanus* become a burden?"

The author of this article, is over eighty-five years of age, and has, throughout all his life, perseveringly attempted, like many others, to reform politics and the judicial department. What has been his success?

What has been the success of all the others? The political and social state of the country has been growing worse ever since they commenced talking of reforms.

If the president, or a governor, or a mayor is willing to receive advices from citizens, they say he has no stamina, no will of his own, no backbone; but if he fully exercises his prerogative, and does not listen to every one's counsel, they publish that he feels more important than his party and nothing can fit him but a crown; and consequently in no case should he be reelected.

The press or other public educators assuming from time to time airs of dignity, and affecting serious concern for the public welfare, often cry out: "So long as public men will subordinate the welfare of the Commonwealth to their individual interests, and so long as the best citizens shall remain away from the polls, they shall not have "the government of the people, by the people, for the people." Tribunes or public speakers call, sometimes, indignation meetings, at which officials or rings are censured and denounced in the most violent terms accompanied with considerable gnashing of teeth. The great principles of democracy are invoked, and the people are warned against the danger that threatens them; they are told to beware of the professional politicians; and that unless they take the government in their own hands, they can not preserve their free institutions. How silly that is! When shall they learn that it is their

free institutions which are the causes of their troubles?

The sight of twelve or fifteen million free men going to the polls for choosing themselves magistrates would certainly be a great spectacle in a virtuous republic, but what can be more deplorable than the sight of that vast multitude of deluded citizens, who, according to American politicians themselves, cast their votes for those who have already given up public interests in exchange for nominations on their respective tickets? Nothing is more surprising than that they should so blindly and so devotedly adhere to their Constitution. Republicans and democrats! what is more illogical than to lament over social and political evils and praise or cherish, meantime, the chief cause that produces them? And he would be declared a public enemy, an anarchist, who would dare to denounce their Constitution. But are not the professional politicians, and the results of primary elections the outcome of that Constitution? It is ridiculous to find fault with the professional politicians, for two reasons, first, because their principles suppose all public men, at least, capable to behave decently, and again because they expect that the majority of the most worthy citizens, of those who have most interests at stake in the nation should devote all their time to politics, and could possibly defeat the unscrupulous methods of political bummers at the primaries, or at the nominating conventions. Should all men, but the professionals, devote their time to primaries, conventions, and elections, and to the

study of all political questions, and of all laws, the commerce and the industry of the country would be entirely ruined; it is bad enough as it is now, consequently, it is the Constitution that is faulty, but not the men who follow politics for a livelihood.

The introduction in many states of the Australian system of voting can not accomplish much good. It can only prevent, in some cases, some poor workmen from receiving a little money for their vote. But it is not here that the danger lies, nor does it matter much who is elected, under the democratic rule of America, as to the character of its politics. It is in the preliminary work and after the elections have been held, that the wrong is performed. With or without the Australian system, the worst evils of the democracy remain the same. In either case, there is the same strife for public office, and public interests can be sold.

The determination of a president, or of a governor, or of a mayor to improve the civil service, is often injurious rather than salutary. He may, it is true, select men renowned for their abilities and virtues, but who, after being promoted to office, will succumb to the temptations that are offered to them, perceiving no prospects for themselves, but their removal from position, no matter how true they may be to their trust. It is a poor way of reforming, which is apt to ruin the morals of an honest man.

While they urge every citizen to become active politicians, they sometimes unconsciously, but with

reason, place politics among the demoralizing causes of the country, saying: "Wine, bad women, gambling and politics will ruin any man." Now, how can American politics lead so many individuals astray without damaging the nation?

The president himself played a very comical part in his message to Congress, in 1891. After the defeat of the Force Bill, against the Southern states, he suggested the establishment of a non-partisan Commission to investigate matters connected with elections in those states, and see that no frauds were committed in registration, voting and returns. It is very significant that their first magistrate would think that not enough honest men could be found in the political parties of the country, to form a competent electoral commission. The president has then expressed the opinion that American politics had exercised a very pernicious effect upon the character of the people. And if his suggestion does not mean this, what does it mean? Now think of this, they continually cry out: "Let all men give their attention to politics," and afterwards propose to look among others than politicians or mere voters, for upright men or patriots. Shall they go to Mexico or Canada to find them?

When shall sincere republicans or democrats acquire sufficient wisdom to know that those whom they endeavor to reform, favor a democracy, not for the practice of its virtues, but, because, on the contrary, it affords them better chances to carry out

their dishonest designs than any other form of government, and would be as strongly opposed to a republic as to a monarchy, were the former as capable as the latter, of restraining their unbounded ambition and wickedness.

Are the authorities very deeply or seriously concerned in the morals of the nation? It is known that one of the worst evils, in the country, is avarice and strife for riches. Nevertheless, the presidents and the state governors, in their official messages, have no other subjects to advise the people and their legislators upon, than questions of money. Their language frequently indicates that they well perceive the dangers that threaten society. But, to remain constitutional, and in harmony with the prevailing sentiment of the population, they refrain from touching the causes of the trouble. They sometimes, formally exercise their functions as public advisers, by exhorting the people to moderation and economy; and as they tell them that these virtues lead to the accumulation of riches, and teach them by the character of their doctrines, that money is the only thing that should occupy their attention, they must necessarily stimulate corruption, rather than promote reforms. They manifest the most complete indifference towards the state of demoralization, which pervades the Commonwealth. They never raise their voice, or give a single stroke of the pen against the laxity of the tribunals of justice, and the spread of crime and lawlessness; but they silently, stupidly

and constitutionally, permit mobs, political bummers or any coxcombs, to insult the authority of the nation.

When Americans are told that the European monarchies execute their laws better than their democracy, they assign the abilities of the former, in this respect, to the smallness of their countries, respectively; and they say that the vast extent of their territory, is objectionable to the swift administering of justice. This cannot be but a formidable argument against the republic. Why is it that lawlessness and the relaxation of the laws, waxes with the material growth of the country? Is not its territory diminishing in size, in proportion to the increase of its population?

That set of native Americans hostile to foreigners, have commenced reviving the doctrine of know-nothingism. Not only are they urging Congress to restrict immigration, but there is a disposition on their part to demand that American citizenship be not so freely extended to foreigners in the future as in the past, and that the members of certain religious sects be debarred from public offices, accusing them of undermining the Constitution of the United States. However, the larger number of the natives, who are also the more sensible and more moderate, seem to consider such contemplated schemes full of mischief, and detrimental to the material interests of the country. They can remain assured that no party could more accelerate the ruin of the Commonwealth than those who wish that all foreigners be excluded from the country, to secure possession of the public

offices; for it is well demonstrated that among them are found most of the unfaithful public servants of the Republic.

They are becoming so fanatical in their ideas of American citizenship that they seem to believe that any foreigner is born only the moment he touches the American soil, and consequently, no matter how old he is at the time of his arrival in that country he can not be of age before he has lived in it twenty-one years. They clearly express such opinions thus: "Foreigners should not vote till they have been twenty-one years in our country; I am American born myself and could not go to the polls before I had reached that age."

The faction which is now considering foreigners unworthy of American citizenship sprang up principally from the same party that recognized most ignorant negroes competent for it immediately they were emancipated.

The rise of new parties will be detrimental rather than beneficial, to the nation, because with it dissensions must necessarily increase. A third party has already made its appearance in the state of Kansas, known as the Populists; but all the difference between this and the others is in the name, the words "populist" and "people" having the same meaning. While they severely censure both of the old parties for leading the country astray, be their charges true as they may, they are actuated by the same principle as either the democrats or the republicans; despite their pre-

tenses to reform they have already given proof that public office is the chief object of their ambition.

According to present appearances, the climax of political and social demoralization may soon be reached by their proclaiming the civil emancipation of women as the main issue for the next presidential campaign, which is already announced by some politicians as the most reliable attempt to reform society.

There are, no doubt, patriots in the country; but they are scarce, in the masses, who believe any statesman or politician capable of sacrifice or public spirit. This is equally ostensible; when a legislative measure of any nature or character is proposed by a faction, it is generally most vigorously opposed by all others, without regard to the public good!

FALLACIES OF THE REPUBLIC.

A great many individuals are found, who, while aspiring to competency for a free government, stupidly assert, that, as to political evils in the American republic, the people are at fault, but not the Constitution. Now, how is it possible that the people be competent and incompetent in the meantime? It is perfectly clear that a merely written constitution can not alone cause mischief; but it becomes a source of dangers, from the unquestionable fact that it does not offer a nation sufficient protection against that portion of men who are not adapted for it.

The fundamental error of the republic is to suppose the nature of mankind more perfect than it really is. In making its freedom and equality depend upon the intelligence or the virtues of the people, it not only fails to be a safe-guard against evil, but it energetically encourages the development of imperfections that exist in man.

By electing the chief-magistrate of a nation for a limited term, the supreme authority of the people vested in him, becomes by reason of his removability, too feeble to inspire the masses with loyalty, and even common respect for the law.

The frequency of elections is the worst school of low intrigues, of frauds and of deceit.

The opening of state offices to all characters, the frequent changes in the personnel of the government, and principally the elections of judges, produce results, not only different from, but entirely opposed to those anticipated by democratic theories.

Instead of upholding man's rights and the purity of politics, a democratic constitution promotes the wrongs of the people, in placing their interests in the power of dishonest classes; it leads a vast portion of the people to neglect industry, disrespect honest labor and any respectable or noble avocation.

Moreover, it is well known that a great many, in their attempts to thrive and build up fortunes through politics, wreck themselves both financially and morally for any honorable pursuit in life.

Democracy saps its own basis and is itself the most

vital principle of anarchism, because by subordinating nationalism to individualism it inspires men with selfish motives in place of patriotism, and consequently renders their private interests antagonistic to, rather than identical with, the welfare of the state.

Resting on the accepted proposition that the nation is the source of all political power, it blindly prepares its ruin by rendering this very power the chief source of the most dangerous evils that affect society.

It is asserted at the outset, that a corrupt republic can not be reformed, nor can the nation under it be regenerated, unless the constitution of the government be entirely remodeled. This has been proven by all republics of by-gone ages; and Americans should bear in mind that their democracy shall be no exception to that rule; and as long as the present constitution remains in existence, the political corruption and social vices can not but continue to grow, despite all their schemes of reforms and the increasing number of their reformers or educators. The task of exterminating all the tigers, lions and serpents, in Asia and in Africa, would be far easier than to liberate a republic from its rapacious demagogues.

Some of them may say: "It is true that the republic is corrupt, but why is it not good enough if the people are contented under its régime?" This argument can only well apply to those finding their pleasure or expressing their satisfaction in a disorderly life, or in a state of licentiousness.

Intelligent men are not scarce, in the republic, who

express the opinion that a radical change in the government must come soon or late, and the sooner the better; and that a stronger constitution is absolutely necessary to restore the prosperity of the nation upon a more solid and permanent basis.

THE MODERN MONARCHIES OF EUROPE.

It is now designed to give a brief sketch of the political history of the principal monarchies of Europe, and exhibit the wonders which they have achieved in building up and civilizing nations. When republics present such a monstrous spectacle as their records furnish us, why should we refrain from eulogizing the governments that have produced the most good to mankind? The monarchial principles set forth in the beginning, will be found in perfect harmony with the nature of man, in modern, as well as in ancient, ages; nor can their logic be shaken by the blustering language or the sophistry of the republican or democratic press. As the difficulties related to the government of a country increase according to the degree of density of its population, so the character of political institutions must be judged from the nature of circumstances that confront them, and according to their measure of success or failure to promote the prosperity of nations, and to administer them justice.

Before entering into this examination, the reader is reminded of the fact, that not only Germany and

Austria-Hungary, but almost all other European monarchies, with a single legislature, respectively, manage populations varying from forty to five hundred inhabitants, far more easily, far more justly and with much less litigation, than the American republic can govern eighteen, to the square mile. And this alone should be deemed sufficient to attract the mind to the consideration of this subject.

Americans and some other nations will be amazed at the triumph of those very principles that have been their primitive source of manhood, light and treasure, while they will notice that the modern, as well as the ancient, monarchies, have been founded and still stand by the will of the people, notwithstanding all that is said to the contrary by their opponents.

FRANCE.

The Merovingians were the first race of the kings of France. They honor their former chief by taking his name, because he had vanquished Attila and repulsed his invading myriads of ferocious barbarians. Childeric, his son and successor, was expelled from the throne by his subjects, but recalled, afterwards, and restored to power. However Clovis, the son of Childeric, was the true founder of the French monarchy, and it is he that liberated France from the Romans, after defeating them at Soissons.

Pepin, the first king of the Carlovingian dynasty,

overthrew the power of Astolphus, king of the Lombards, and established the temporal power of Popery. His kingdom was divided between his two sons, Charles and Carloman. Soon after this, the latter died, and the former became the Sovereign of the state. Subsequently, in the year 800, while in Rome, he received from the hands of Pope Lèo III. the imperial crown, and was immediately proclaimed Emperor by all his people under the name of Charlemagne. Thus was the Christian Empire of the West founded and recognized by all the Christians of the world.

In the tenth century, Hughes Capet founded the Capetian dynasty, upon the influence of the clergy and the unanimous consent of the population.

Following this came the family of Valois in 1328.

Henry IV, the first ruler of the Bourbon dynasty, who reigned in the sixteenth century, could not have maintained himself on the throne, had he not accepted the terms dictated to him by the masses of the nation.

In a period of less than a hundred years which elapsed from the revolution of 1789, three republics, and five monarchies, under Napoleon I, Louis XVIII, Charles X, Louis Philip, and Napoleon III, respectively, were erected; and four monarchies and two republics, overthrown.

Under all dynasties, all branches of learning were encouraged, and art, especially, was greatly promoted by the church. But it is in the reign of the Valois family, that the development of industry received its

first great impulse. Francis I, perceiving the magnitude of advantages offered to commerce by the discoveries, of America by Christopher Columbus, and of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama, resolved to promote the interests of his people by stimulating industry, and it was in his time that the city of Lyons established its most important silk manufactories, that the French navy and the Port of Havre were built

To the governments of Henry IV, of Louis XIII, and of Louis XIV, of the Bourbon family, belongs the glory of having most promoted the prosperity of the French nation, and it may justly be said, of having laid the foundation of her greatness.

A proper idea of what Henry's reign did for France can be found by Voltaire's following phrases: "Justice is reformed; and the two religions are practiced in peace. Agriculture is encouraged; as Sully said, 'Plough and cow, these are the breasts of France, whereat she sucks; they are the true mines and treasures of Peru.' Commerce and the arts, which Sully cared for less, were still honored; silver and gold stuffs enriched Lyons and the entire country. Manufactures of tapestry were established; and glass, after the Venetian patterns, was made. To Henry alone, France is indebted for the silkworm and the mulberry. It was Henry who dug the canal which joins the Seine and the Loire. Under him Paris grew and grew fair; he built the Palais-Royal, and reconstructed the old bridges. Before his day the

St. Germain suburb was not connected with the town, and was improved under his supervision. He built that magnificent bridge on which every Frenchman, as he passes, still looks with emotion at his statue. St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, above all the Louvre, were enlarged, almost rebuilt, by him. He established in his long gallery in the Louvre, artists of all classes, and encouraged them frequently with his presence as well as his presents."

The reign of Louis XIII, and the administration of affairs by Cardinal Richelieu, produced the most glorious results for the country, in all respects. While their foreign policy was consolidating the dynasty, and gaining for France her supremacy over the continent, they founded a large number of the best institutions, among which the French Academy, the College du Plessis, known as, Lyceum Louis-le-Grand. The Palais-Royal was built; the Jardin des Plantes was established, and the collections forming the present Museum of Natural History was then inaugurated.

Louis XIV. was not yet in his fifth year, when he succeeded his father. His mother, Ann of Austria, was proclaimed Regent, for the period of his minority, and availed herself of the services of Cardinal Mazarin, an Italian of transcendent abilities, who died, after a very successful and brilliant career. Louis, who was then about twenty-three years of age assumed an absolute authority, with the assistance of the celebrated Colbert, whom he appointed as general

comptroller of finances in place of Fouquet. The revenue of the state was then raised from fifty-two to ninety-five million francs.

Louvois reorganized the army, and the rule of discipline which he introduced into it, permitted France to maintain her position in the first rank of nations. Louis exhibited a great zeal for the welfare of the country. He established the East and West Indies Company, and annexed new colonies which became very flourishing. Agriculture, all industrial branches, and commerce were greatly encouraged. The canal of Languedoc was dug, connecting the Ocean with the Mediterranean sea.

In no other age and no other country have sciences, art and literature attained a higher degree of perfection, than under the reign of Louis the Great. It is in his time that Conde, Turenne, Luxembourg, Crequi, Catinat, Vendome and Villars, obtained their military glory, that Vauban executed his great works of military engineering, that Perrault, Mansard and other celebrated architects, erected those magnificent palaces that rivaled those of Rome. New public works of all kinds, and splendid monuments were seen everywhere; Paris and Versailles were embellished, the attractions of which invited foreigners from all nations of the globe, and consequently became, for the nation, what they are now, a great source of revenue.

What period in the world's history has produced literary men superior to Bossuet, Fenelon, Bourda-

loue, Flechier, Massillon, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Boileau, la Bruyère, Pascal, d'Agnesseau, and a great many others?

The French language, has, in those times, made the most rapid advance towards its present degree of perfection, and this has, no doubt, contributed, in a measure, to the improvement of the English tongue itself, as in the last two centuries it has received most of its French words and idioms.

In the latter part of his reign, Louis was impelled to recognize William of Orange, as king of England, in place of James II; but on the other hand, Philip V, his nephew, for whom France had carried on the war of succession, was also acknowledged by Europe as the legitimate ruler of Spain. Louis has been bitterly denounced by Protestants for revoking the edict of Nantes; however it is known that laws similar to those which he enforced against Protestants, in France, had been already, or were, meanwhile, enacted, in other countries, by the latter's co-religionists, against the Catholics. The adoption of such extreme policy, on both sides, was to insure peace and tranquillity among the people, by restoring the political and religious unity in their respective countries.

Louis XV. had not yet attained the age of five, when he ascended the throne. Philip of Orleans, was appointed Regent during his minority. Under his reign France was not prosperous. The corruption of his court, and the seven years war into which the

French were led by Austria against Prussia and England, were very disastrous to the nation. These causes combined with the diffusion of the new doctrines of sophists, such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Diderot and Helvetius, and the sacrifices made by Louis XIV. subsequently to aid the Americans in their war of independence, brought the political revolution in 1789.

It is almost unanimously acknowledged that reforms were much needed in the government of France. The king, the nobility and the clergy, understood this, as well as all others, and voluntarily yielded to the demands of the national assembly. In lending their assistance for reforming all abuses, they relinquished many privileges which they had exercised till now, and even the king took the oath of allegiance to the new Constitution. According to it, the legislative power exclusively belonged to a parliament, which was to be accessible to any citizen, provided he would be elected by the people, and the execution of the laws was confided to the king who had the right to oppose the decrees of the legislative assembly by his veto. This Constitution, which was, at the outset, satisfactory to all parties, placed all individuals on a political level; it is then evident that enough revolution had been accomplished; and had a larger number of the ablest men of France been actuated by patriotism, the country could have easily been saved from the state of bloody anarchy that followed. But, at that time, clubs had already been

organized by the most fertile brains of the nation, which, being converted into political parties, acquired at once considerable influence. These were principally the Girondists and the Jacobites, whose great ambition was to overthrow the new Constitutional monarchy, and assume the power. In the second meeting of delegates, Louis found himself surrounded with implacable enemies, and determined men devoid of all sound principles, who proposed to destroy all that was left of the old régime, and substitute democracy as a government, and Science or Reason as a moral power, in place of any kind of monarchy and religion, respectively. Their first act was to enact tyrannical laws against the clergy, and all emigrants who fled from the country for their own safety; and they revolted against the authority of the king for using his veto against their abominable decrees. How, despite the law concerning the inviolability of the king, he was accused, condemned and put to death, by the republican party, is well known.

If their political theories were true, and could be permanently established, and produce any good to France and mankind, the time is now arrived for their being crowned with success, as there is no more obstruction whatever in their way. Royalty, religious worship, all orders of society have been overthrown, and foreign invasion has been repelled; the immaculate republicans, those devout worshipers of nature, are now the masters of the situation. While all the most civilized nations of the globe are standing, at

this critical moment, their eyes towards them, in a state of amazement, perplexity, fear, hope and solicitude; while the kings are trembling on their thrones at this spectacle, grand and apparently sublime, yet most gloomy and terrible for society, the revolutionary party exhibits the impracticability of its own institution. The men who have proclaimed through the world the age of reason, their principles of equality, liberty and fraternity, and expected a paradise on earth, with no other power to inspire or govern them but their own will, prove most incapable of this free state. The men who believed in substituting free love for marriage, and in making the land and the wealth of the country common property, are not able to agree or live in unity for a short period of time; nor can they even unite on pressing questions of policy and urgent measures of public safety.

It is most interesting now to notice the striking manner in which human nature shows itself in this conflict of ideas and interests. What must be the condition, the duration and the fate of a Commonwealth without unity of purpose and without fixed principles? The following events will answer these questions:

Having overthrown a power that, notwithstanding all its faults, had rendered France one of the greatest nations in the world, the republican party was split into fierce and formidable factions. Ambition, insatiable cupidity, jealousy, envy and vengeance, became the ruling sentiments of their souls. In the absence

of any restraining power but their common sense, the inexorable Goddess of Reason gave her worshipers no heed. Every man is urging that his own opinions prevail over those of his brothers; they all want to command and govern, but no one wants to obey.

Those communists had proposed to divide the nation's wealth in equal shares among themselves, because they had nothing, but as soon as they acquired something, they wanted to keep it all. They all were to laugh, but they all weep. They were to be in paradise, but now they find themselves somewhere else. Every one was to be a model of perfection; every one is a demon.

In this state of confusion, under the rule of Robespierre, the sons of nature fell into an abyss of calamities. It is almost incredible, yet true, that even before having ceased exterminating the Bourbons and others for clinging to the old principles, they had commenced cutting one another's throat. Marat, a Jacobite, fell under the dagger of a Girondist; and following, twenty-one Girondists went to find their deliverance under the Jacobine guillotine.

Robespierre, that champion of man's rights and liberty, destroyed some of his own partisans for daring to disagree with him. Hebert and his faction, for atheism, Camille Desmoulins and Danton, on account of their moderate policy, and others, for various causes, were sent to death by the order of this fanatical tyrant. The Goddess of Reason was sacrificing her worshipers without distinction, to her infernal

fury. Every day, in Paris, and through France, thousands of innocent people were massacred, or losing their heads under the republican knife. At last Robespierre, in this general conflagration, fearing for his own life, requested the Convention to decree the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul; and upon reviving these old principles, he endeavored to become dictator. However, his hypocrisy could not save him from the just punishment he deserved for all the calamities in which France had been plunged under his rule; and accompanied with his principal colleagues, he perished by the hands of his brothers, for the sake of public safety. Their disappearance soon followed by the execution of a few others wiped out entirely the Jacobite party, and was the first step towards the return of peace.

Oh! what would have the authors of those sophistical and monstrous principles said, if raised alive from their graves amidst the wrecks of their political edifice? What would they have thought of the practical working of their experimental philosophy, and of their natural forces? How interesting would Voltaire have looked with all his grimaces, in finding out the theories of his vanity and conceit thus confounded? How disappointed would Jean Jacques Rousseau have felt, as to his "Emile,"* who though educated by

* Emile is the title of a literary work written by Jean Jacques Rousseau, in the eighteenth century, and intended to reform the system of education for boys in France, This work was devoid of any

him to be an honest and laborious artisan, had become through his education, a destroyer of property, a cut-throat, a raper, an incest?

It is said that the French revolution was directed against the despotism of kings and privileged classes. This is partly true with regard to its beginning; but the subsequent overthrow of the constitutional monarchy was the severest blow which the nation could receive. Moreover, the revolution has demonstrated in the most striking manner, that if a despotic or corrupt monarchy is bad, a democracy is still worse; nor can ever the wrongs of the former prove the truth or the justice of the latter. In a corrupt monarchy, abuses are confined to a few, and the safety of the nation lies in the integrity of the masses; but in a corrupt republic, almost all classes of society being affected, there can be no salvation for it, except in its adopting a stronger government. Republicans or democrats are sometimes heard to say: "In monarchies only a few men can make money, but in republics every one has a chance to get rich, out of the government." They might as well say: "A republic can ruin a nation faster than any other form of government."

It is very wrong to impute to monarchical principles the disasters of France under the reign of Louis XV, as her contending powers, were not themselves republics, but monarchies.

religious ideas; it greatly contributed to the out-break of the French revolution and afterwards proved not only impracticable, but very dangerous.

A revolution against a government may some times furnish very effective pills for purification; but pills are bad food to live upon, for nations as well as for individuals. It was owing to the restoration of monarchy and of the Church, to the union of religion and philosophy, that the republicans, as well as others, saved their lives. Had they depended on their own principles their Goddess of Reason would have exterminated all of them. Yet they were still so ingrate, and so blind, afterwards, as to revolt again against the same power.

Notwithstanding all that can be said of any prince of the Bourbon dynasty, it is under their rule that the French people have developed that thriftiness, and acquired those habits of economy and that recuperative power which enables them to recover so rapidly from defeat and disasters, and which combined with their talents and their natural resources, place them among the wealthiest nations of the globe. Many centuries are necessary to build up a country like France. What has accomplished this, if not monarchy? During their whole existence, the French people have had no more than thirty years of republicanism.

It is not rational to attribute to any special defects in the character of the French people, the failure of their political theories. If that revolution, accompanied with such inconsistencies, such errors, such atrocities, had been the effect of an irritable temperament, or caused by a state of ignorance, it might

fairly be said that the French nation would be so inferior and so defective in intellect, as to be almost worthless. But when we consider the great deeds which this people have performed, since the beginning of their existence, in peace and in war, when we look at their high attainments in all branches of learning, we are compelled to admit, that, with the faults ascribed to them, they are as bright and intelligent as any other people on earth, and therefore, those political troubles are attributable to a mistaken idea characteristic of almost all nations, and the more earnestly expressed by the Greek and the Latin races, that they can as safely exercise their free will in public, as in their private, affairs. The French people resemble the ancient Greeks in all things; they have the same genius, the same talents, the same virtues and the same vices; they are as fond of pleasures and of wars, of honor and of vain glory; and they are as much inclined to republicanism, and equally as incapable of it, as were the Athenians in the times of Philip and Alexander. But they might, perhaps, longer preserve a republic, if the masses were inclined to be satisfied and contented under a régime of corruption.

It is worthy of notice that of all classes of the population, the husbandmen, the shepherds, the fishermen, are the most virtuous citizens in republics, and the easiest governed under a monarchical rule, in modern, as well as in ancient times. It is the population of cities, and especially that of the most popu-

lous cities, that overtaxes the power of a democracy, and renders a strong government indispensable for a great nation; and moreover it is the class of men who clamor the loudest for political liberty that are the more unworthy of it. After passing from absolutism to representative monarchy, they want a democracy; and this soon or late brings them anarchy and throat cutting.

Although, it must be admitted that Napoleon I. was, as an absolute monarch, incapable to promote the felicity of a nation, he does not deserve all the censure for the wars of his reign; for they were, it may justly be said, but the continuance of those inaugurated under the republic, before his time.

Napoleon III. is often censured for having been false to his oath of allegiance to the republic. His crime, if he committed any, was to swear to maintain the republic; and if one swears to the commission of a crime, is he duty-bound to be true to his oath? Nor is he to be blamed alone for the Franco-German war; the republicans were, like the government, greatly responsible for it.

The present republic of France and the American democracy are often considered alike in principles; but there is a vast difference between them. The government of France is almost similar to that of England. They differ principally as to the institution of the first magistracy. In the former, the ruler is elected by the two chambers of the government on a joint ballot; in England, the sovereignty is hereditary.

In France three churches are supported by the government; the Roman Catholic, the Hebrew, and the Protestant (Calvinist and Lutheran).

The state of corruption into which some of the deputies and other notable men sank themselves, in the Panama Canal affair, is owing principally to the fact that the president of France is removable, and elected by the chambers. Had he been inamovable from his position, he could, no doubt, have inspired them with sufficient respect to preserve their integrity, amidst temptations. But on the other hand, the swiftness with which the laws are executed when compared to the course of American justice, must be attributed to the fact that the judges and other court officials hold their positions independently of politics, and so long as they are considered worthy of them, respectively. When we look seriously over the course of political events in France, since the revolution of 1789, taking in consideration the Napoleonic wars, and the unsettled condition of affairs arising from so many changes in her government, it is not hazardous saying that, had the French people preserved like England their Constitutional monarchy with the Bourbon family on the throne, they would be more prosperous and more formidable than they are now. The effect of their former republican ideas on their morals and national vitality shall be treated upon in the article of "Church and State."

France has an area of about 204,150 English square miles, and a population of a little over 37,000,000. It

has also many colonies in Asia, Africa, America and Oceanica.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY OF ENGLAND REFUTES
THOMAS PAINE'S PRINCIPAL IDEAS OF MAN'S
RIGHTS, BY A LONG PERIOD OF WONDER-
FUL PROSPERITY.

In the year 1791, Thomas Paine, in his political work, "Rights of Man," commented in the highest terms of encomium upon the principles of the French republic, which overthrew the limited monarchy of Louis XVI. and sent him to the guillotine. In citing both this democracy and the American constitution, as the model governments for all the nations of the world, he attempted to alienate the reigning family of England from the affection of their people and denounce this monarchy as contrary to industrial development and commerce. So attractive and so insidious was his language, that even William Pitt, the Prime Minister of England, at that time, was, it is said, almost converted by it. And, if it could have moved such a powerful mind, it must certainly have exerted great influence upon many others. Nevertheless, it would be unfair to annoy the reader with any quotations from Paine, and useless to attempt at refuting, by force of arguments, any of his theories;

as their merits have been fully determined by the results of long experiments. The course of events following all his assertions and predictions have proven that the principles by which republicans asserted and proposed to exercise their rights are false, and most dangerous to both individuals and nations. The French republic was but of a few years duration in which we have seen the leaders of its political factions destroy one another. Thomas Paine, himself, the personification of conceit and self-esteem, who said that no one could ever refute his ideas, narrowly escaped from his brother Robespierre's engine of death, for having opposed his will, and received a term of imprisonment, as the blessing of the Goddess of Reason for his religious devotion. His doctrines which a few years before had been regarded as unanswerable; were now very practically answered. While France has, since that time, experienced many political revolutions, the government of Great Britain has remained unchanged, and has always been most effective, in administering justice and preserving order in the country, in promoting the prosperity of the people at home, and prompt in protecting its subjects abroad.

When the natural circumstances, the industrial and commercial advancement, the vital statistics, of the country, and the moral development of the British nation are examined, it can fairly be asked, how could the people have been more prosperous than they were under their present government.

The area of the British Isles is 121,175 square miles, with a population of 37,740,000, according to the census of 1891, an increase of about 2,855,000 in ten years. This shows a proportion of 309 inhabitants to the square mile. England and Wales, taken separately, have an area of 58,320 square miles, and a population of 27,560,000 in 1891 or at least, 471 inhabitants to the mile, and nearly 19,000,000 more than in 1801.

It is a subject of deep consideration, that, although that country does not produce half enough to feed its present population, the English people have accumulated the most colossal fortunes on earth. It is true that they were compensated, in a great measure, by their mineral wealth. But would they have preserved or acquired those energies indispensable to develop their material resources, and would they have gained their commercial supremacy in the world, had one third or one half their population depended on politics for a livelihood, as greatly did the Americans, now, for more than a century?

It is not alone in manufacturing iron, steel, woolen or cotton, goods, that the English people exhibit their greatness; but having to improve their talents, in all branches of learning, like the French, they have attained the highest degree of perfection in sciences, art and literature. It is worthy of notice that under their conservative institutions, notwithstanding their extreme poverty in produce, the vitality of the nation has developed itself into philanthropy.

What more liberality could they extend to the nations of the earth than that these should be free to compete against the manufactures of England, by importing, to this country, the products of their own industries, free from duties?

Now, admirers of Thomas Paine, what do you think of that English government, which your press editors, or other like philosophers are pleased to call "effete monarchy?"

Remarks are frequently made regarding the smallness of the number of its land owners; it has been said, that no more than thirty thousand persons owned England, Wales, and Ireland. Nevertheless, the statistics of 1873 show that in the two former alone there were, at that time, more than 95,000 real estate owners.

The limited monarchy of Great Britain consists of a Sovereign, a House of Lords, and a House of Commons. The succession is hereditary in the House of Hanover, in male line, and in failure of this, in female line. The executive power is vested in the Sovereign, who also exercises considerable power in the legislative department.

In Great Britain, there are two established Churches; the Episcopal in England and Wales, and the Presbyterian, in Scotland; but the Catholics, the Jews, and other religious sects, enjoy the free exercise of their faith. The Episcopal Church is governed by two Arch-bishops and thirty-two bishops. The Arch-bishops and twenty-four of the bishops sit in the House of Lords.

The British Empire comprehends, besides England, Scotland, and Ireland; East Indies and other Eastern possessions, West Indies, Australasia, the Dominion of Canada, possessions in Africa and in Europe. It occupies an area of nearly nine million English square miles, and has a population of more than three hundred and fifty millions.

In the seventeenth century, the English people, like some other nations, at times, became affected with a democratic fever, accompanied by a momentary cerebral derangement, which brought them many serious troubles in rapid succession. In less than fifteen years, King Charles the First lost both his crown and his head; an absolute monarchy was overthrown; a democracy was established and abandoned; and the monarchy was restored with Charles the Second, on the throne of his father, who had perished in the struggle of the English people for the cause of political liberty. Now, how can men of sense or little knowledge believe the assertions of Thomas Paine, of Victor Hugo, or of other such writers, that the Sovereign of England holds his crown against the will of the people?

There is scarce any thing, in political history, so worthy of notice as such series of important events in the life of that vigorous nation. The English people, the first champions of liberty in modern times, noted for their good sense, their shrewdness, their phlegmatic temperament, and sound judgment in political, as well as in commercial, affairs, thinking, studying,

and trying to devise a system of government, not for the world, but for themselves alone; having nothing to fear from any foreign interference in their domestic difficulties, because of their being protected against it by their insular position, and having acquired a vast experience through all their civil and religious broils, from the time of Henry VIII, became tired of a republic of only eleven years duration. This short reign of a Cromwell's capricious tyranny seemed to the English people a very long period of despotism and taught them a lesson, in politics and in the nature of men, which they were not soon to forget. The entire nation greeted with joy the restoration of the monarchy; and although Charles II. was not ranking among the most exemplary men of his country, the people never afterwards regretted their change, knowing from dear experiments that they could rather guard themselves against the vices of a prince, than safely trust to the virtues and the liberal spirit of republicans.

It is not denied that subsequently they could have found at home, a great many men more worthy of the Sovereignty than George I; but their selection of him was wise enough, in view of all the dangerous animosities and bitter rivalry justly apprehended to arise from old contending factions, if an English noble family had been elevated to the throne.

Ever since the restoration, the people have granted themselves more liberties; and the freedom of the press and of speech are all that can be desired.

Under their Constitutional monarchy they enjoy the wisest kind of democracy. In the presence of a stable Sovereign whose chief duty and personal interest is to carry the will of the people and protect the rights of individuals and society no mobs are allowed to take the law in their own hands, as they do in the American republic; nor can any corrupt ring easily use parliament or official positions for scheming against the nation.

It is not in the Royalty, not in the House of Lords, not in the House of Commons, but it is in the combination, and in the union, of these parts, that the wisdom of the British government resides. Under this constitution the nation has but little to fear from a royal despot, from the acts of a noble fool, from the tyranny or haughtiness of aristocracy, from the conduct of ill-bred dudes, and from the rapacity of republican demagogues.

SCOTLAND.

The total area of Scotland is about thirty thousand nine hundred square miles, with a density of population of about one hundred and twenty-five to the mile. The ownership of the soil, in this country, is far more distributed among the people, than in England or Ireland; and upwards of one third of the population have shares in it.

A great deal more manufacturing is done than in

Ireland, but much less than in England. Most of the British steam vessels are constructed in Scotland. England and Scotland became united in the reign of Queen Anne.

The Scotch, as well as the English, have had a large number of great men, almost in all branches of learning or of industry. They are also noted for their business abilities, for laboriousness and perseverance in all their pursuits, and renowned for their intrepidity, their cool courage and their stability on the battle field.

IRELAND.

Influenced by the example of the French revolution, the Irish rose in arms against England, 1798, and attempted to establish a republic. After many reverses they were totally defeated near Wexford. The reinforcements which they subsequently received from France were, first successful, but, at last conquered by the army of Cornwallis. From that time the old Irish Parliament was abolished, and the union formed between Great Britain and Ireland. The Catholics gained their emancipation in 1829, through the policy of the duke of Wellington, a Protestant Irishman, and at that time the Prime Minister of England.

Ireland occupies an area of about 32,530 square miles, and is divided into four provinces, namely:

Connaught, Munster, Ulster and Leinster; which are subdivided into five, six, nine and twelve counties, respectively. These thirty-two counties comprehend three hundred and sixteen baronies, including two thousand five hundred and thirty-two parishes divided into about sixty thousand seven hundred and fifty townlands having an average size of three hundred acres each.

In the year 1845 the population reached far above eight millions, but famine and pestilence reduced it considerably between the years 1846 and 1853. Thousands of emigrants went to England, but the most of them took the route to the United States of America; as they settled in foreign countries, a great many others were encouraged to join them, and consequently the population of Ireland has always continued to decrease. Nevertheless its density yet is of about one hundred and fifty-five to the square mile, which is more than seven times the average number for the same area in the United States, or more than one sixth larger than that of prosperous Scotland. Is this not a remarkably good showing for a country, whose desolation and misery are so much lamented by republicans, throughout the world? About 1881, the least populous portion of Ireland was King's county, in the province of Leinster, being ninety-two to the mile.

In 1871, about eight million five hundred and six thousand Irish-born people were reported to exist in Ireland and foreign countries.

The soil of Ireland is very fertile, but the weather is often very injurious to the crops. It is also rich in minerals. Iron is found in large quantity; but the supply of coal is short.

The manufacture of woollen, linen, lace and muslin goods employs more than three hundred thousand persons.

The advantages for shipping are not excelled by those of any other country. Yet manufacturing and commerce are not what some people think they ought to be.

Natural causes have been more unfavorable to the development of industry and commerce in Ireland, since the use of the steam, than its unhappy political relations to England. The fact that iron and coal were found abundantly, side by side, both in Scotland and in the latter country, gave them a decided advantage over Ireland, in manufacturing; and as the exportations from the British Isles were to consist principally of manufactured products, the ports of England, naturally, were to be the main shipping points.

It is wrong to always attribute, in any country, the absence of extensive industries in presence of its vast natural wealth to a lack of energy or enterprise on the part of its people or to the unwise policy of its government. Besides Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and the United States of America, there are many countries, very rich in produce and minerals, but whose slowness in industrial advancement is often alluded to. Here is

the difficulty: The population of the world is yet too small to require the development of all its natural resources. And how many centuries will elapse before it becomes necessary to carry the ideas of some enthusiastic but injudicious schemers, by employing the ways of all the oceans and seas along their shores, as motive power for manufacturing?

The Irish are among the wittiest people of the earth, and have produced a large number of notable men. They can boast of very accomplished scholars, of brilliant orators and writers, of able jurists and celebrated architects, of sagacious politicians and statesmen, of famous generals and brave soldiers. They are valiant and constant defenders of their rights and principles. They can be devoted and serviceable friends, and very effective enemies; but their rancor, however so fierce, is easily disarmed, and promptly changed to the opposite sentiment.

SPAIN.

Spain, with an area of a little more than one hundred and ninety-eight thousand square miles, has a population of upwards of sixteen million five hundred thousand, a density of more than eighty-five.

Agriculture is the chief occupation of the population. But the soil is not entirely fertile, and irrigation is necessary. Cereals, wines and fruits are the principal objects of cultivation. The breeding of

cattle has lately received considerable attention from the population. The country possesses vast mineral resources, which have not been as yet but very little developed. Its commerce is growing with the building of railways, and its population is now increasing far more rapidly than that of France. Catholicism is the state religion, and Spain is still the most Catholic country in the world. Education is now compulsory.

Its government is a limited monarchy, and consists of a Sovereign whose crown is hereditary, a Senate and a House of Deputies. The present ruler is of the Bourbon dynasty, and the son of the late King Alfonso XII. He was only seven years of age on May 17th, 1893. To his mother is entrusted the regency for the period of his minority.

At the occasion of the visit of his aunt, the Infanta Eulalia to the United States, the Americans have remarked that the Royal family of Spain would have the opportunity of witnessing faster traveling than at the time of Christopher Columbus. On the other hand, the Spanish Royalty teaches the fast Americans and their statesmen how its little King, in the cradle, protects his subjects against extravagant velocity and accidents and can save them from the horrors of lynching or other like lawlessness.

The colonies of Spain are: Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippine Islands, Fernando Po, and a few more islands in the Pacific Ocean, comprising a population of about eight million.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The reigning dynasty of the Austro-Hungarian empire is the Hapsburgh-Lothringen family, which was promoted in the thirteenth century by Rudolph King of Germany and count of Hapsburgh. This event was sanctioned by the electoral college, and cordially adhered to by the entire population. The succession is hereditary, in the male, and in default of this, in the female, line.

Austria and Hungary have separate parliaments. That of Austria consists of a House of Lords and a House of representatives. The House of Lords is composed of princes of the Imperial Family, of nobles of the highest order, whose title is hereditary, of the bishops and archbishops who are princes, and of other members exalted by the Emperor, for great services rendered to the State. The Lower House has about three hundred and fifty members, elected by all citizens possessing, at least, a small property qualification.

The parliament of Hungary, consists of a Lower and an Upper House.

Austria-Hungary occupies an area of 240,000 English square miles, and, in 1869 had a population of nearly thirty-seven millions, which gave a proportion of about one hundred and fifty-four inhabitants to the square mile.

At least two thirds of the population are catholics, and education, in all its branches, is making a rapid

progress. The catholic, the protestant and the Greek, churches, and the Jews also, have their own schools. Besides these, there are many institutions of learning, and scientific and literary societies.

Agriculture is the chief occupation of the population. The crops yield more than four hundred million bushels of grain. Austria does not offer great advantages for shipping and land transportation, being very mountainous, and having but very little sea-coast. Nevertheless its commerce with foreign nations is increasing rapidly, and its manufactures which have been very progressive for many years have now assumed extensive proportions. The principal sea-ports of the Empire are Fiume and Trieste, on the Adriatic.

No nation has done more than Austria to promote its military power. Her schools, and her mode of discipline are not surpassed. Military service is compulsory on all competent mén, and is for twelve years.



THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

The German empire is a confederacy, composed of four kingdoms, five duchies, six grand-duchies, seven principalities, and three free towns. Each of them makes its own laws. Alsace-Lorraine is entirely controlled by the central government. The king of Prussia is the emperor of Germany, who directs the

military and political affairs of the empire in the name of the union.

The crown is hereditary in the Hohenzollern family, which came to the throne of Prussia in 1701. Would any one who has but a little knowledge venture to say that this family has reigned in Prussia for nearly two hundred years, and is now the head of the German empire, against the will of the people?

The emperor is assisted by a *bunderath* or federal council, which represents the governments of all the states.

The emperor, the *bunderath* and the *reichstag* perform the legislative functions of the Empire. The members of the latter branch are elected by universal suffrage for a term of three years, one by every hundred thousand inhabitants. The executive power is vested in the emperor, who represents the empire in all international affairs, but can not declare an offensive war without the consent of the federal council.

Each state has the right to send ambassadors to foreign courts; but all consuls must be named by the emperor. The chancellor of the empire is the president of the federal council.

The emperor must approve, and the chancellor must countersign, all imperial measures enacted by the council and the *reichstag*, before they become laws.

The German empire has an area of 208,000 square miles. In 1875, the population of Germany was nearly forty-three millions, a density of two hundred and five inhabitants to the square mile.

The arable lands in Germany, including vineyards and gardens, occupy about one half of the territory. Although it is not all fertile, very little of it is unfit for culture. Throughout the country the soil is well cultivated.

It is worthy of notice in this country, as well as in all others, where only a few people depend on politics for their existence, that the skill used in the culture of the soil, is great, and has compensated certain localities for the inferior character of lands in their primitive state. Wheat, rye, oats and barley, millet, maize, tobacco, etc., are raised. The vine is cultivated principally in the Rhine district. The cultivation of grazing lands, and the breeding of cattle, are carried extensively in some parts of the country.

For minerals, Germany ranks next to England, and on the same line with France. Coal and iron, especially, being found in great abundance, have made Germany a great industrial state. The value of fabrics exported exceed by far that of those imported.

In 1875, the protestants were about two thirds, and the catholics, one third, of the population. The Jews numbered nearly five hundred and twenty-one thousand; the dissenters and the free-thinkers, one hundred and one thousand.

In no country is learning more encouraged than in Germany. School education is compulsory on the entire population. Fine arts, sciences and philosophy in all its branches, are deeply studied. The

empire abounds with large libraries, scientific societies, observatories, and newspapers; and the book trade is of very great importance.

Since 1871, every able-bodied German must serve seven years in the standing army, and five years more in the landwehr; nor is he allowed to substitute any one in his place. To her splendid military system, inaugurated by Frederick the Great of Prussia, Germany, no doubt, owes the rank she occupies among nations. Could the Germans have attained their present state of prosperity, if instead of giving their attention to industries, to study, and to economy, millions of them had had the opportunities of attempting to secure their living out of the government? There is nothing that can more satisfactorily demonstrate the wisdom of monarchy than that it could, without the assistance of any great material resources, raise a nation to that high degree of civilization and material power which Germany, and principally Prussia, have attained, notwithstanding the vast armies, which their position among other powerful nations, impelled them to maintain. Germany has possessions in Africa and Oceanica.

TURKEY.

European Turkey covers about one hundred and thirty-eight thousand six hundred square miles, and has a population of little more than ten million two

hundred thousand; a density of seventy-four.

Asiatic Turkey has an area of six hundred and ninety-one thousand six hundred miles, with a population of about twenty-five million, a density of at least thirty six.

The Turkish possessions in Africa have a population of about eight million scattered over a territory of little more than eight hundred thousand square miles; a density of ten to the mile.

The Turks are principally engaged in agriculture; and the foreign trade is mostly carried on by the Greeks, the Jews and foreigners.

The government is an absolute monarchy. The Sultan controls the spiritual as well as the temporal power, being recognized as the successor of the Prophet. However, his prerogative is considerably tempered by the concourse of many great influences, both local and foreign.

As to the judicial department, all cases between Turks and foreigners are tried in the imperial courts, but a consul's representative has the right to see that his countrymen obtain justice. Cases between foreigners of one nationality are heard before their respective consuls; and those of different nationalities are decided by the court of the defendant.

Turkey is often called "The Sick Man of Europe." Nevertheless, the Poor Invalid has sufficient vigor to curb the insolent power of demagogues, to inflict punishment upon the guilty, and to prevent mobs from taking the law in their hands.

ITALY.

The unification of Italy under one government was the work of the people. It was a grand spectacle to observe the wisdom of the Italian statesmen in leading them from a chaos to their present political situation. It had been anticipated by many that they would establish a republic; but Cavour and his colleagues were too wise to try dangerous experiments, and preferred a constitutional monarchy to democracy.

Italy has a population of about twenty-seven millions, occupying a territory of one hundred and fourteen thousand four hundred miles. It is an agricultural country. Following the cereals and the wine, the olive is the principal object of cultivation. Sicily yields very large crops of lemons and oranges. Cattle-breeding is considerably carried on. Italy is a wool-growing country. It is also very important by its manufacturing interests in various branches of industry. Commerce is growing rapidly, and education in all branches is being extensively diffused. Italy possesses a large number of national universities and public libraries.

JAPAN.

Japan, in Asia, is governed by an absolute monarchy. The Sovereign or Mikado, administers the state affairs

with the assistance of a Senate, which was established only a few years ago. The religions are the Buddhist and the Shinto, and education is compulsory.

Japan has a population of at least 35,000,000 upon an area of 148,750 miles. Its soil is fertile enough, and produces wheat, rice, barley, etc. It is also rich in minerals. There are many extensive cotton and silk factories, and artistic manufacturing of great variety is extensively carried on, in which the Japanese exhibit considerable skill and taste.

The Japanese are far more favorable than the Chinese to Europeans and Americans, and are introducing many reforms on the model of their civilization. Railroads, telegraphs, etc. are being built throughout the country.

THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

China proper has an area of about one million four hundred thousand, and the Chinese Empire is said to cover at least four million five hundred thousand square miles. A very large portion of this country is very fertile, and agriculture is the main occupation of the population. Fruits of both the tropical and temperate zones, sugar-cane and cotton are cultivated. Millet and rice, the chief food of the population, are abundantly raised. Manufacturing is extensively carried on. Tea and silk are the principal objects of export.

The government is an absolute and patriarchal monarchy. The Emperor is recognized by the people as their Father and regarded responsible for their behavior and condition. The chief policy of this absolutism has two objects; first to inspire the population with parental and filial piety, which can not fail to redound advantageously to the interests of both individuals and the entire nation, in maintaining order and justice in the country and promoting their happiness. Its second aim is to multiply the national family, by encouraging early marriages, and educating the people to consider the procreation of children as their chief and most religious duty. These principles have rendered the Chinese the most populous nation of the earth. China itself, is said to have four hundred million, and the population of the Empire is supposed to exceed five hundred million inhabitants.

Such a wonderful result should serve as a most important subject of study to some nations, which, although aspiring to greatness, have taken a course entirely contrary to that of the Chinese.

The Emperor, in the administration of state affairs, is assisted by a council of advisers and censors. He has the power of life and death over his subjects, but very seldom exercises it. The laws are very rigidly enforced throughout the Empire, and sometimes the most unmanageable miscreants are put to torture.

The religions are, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taouism and Mahometanism.

Education is compulsory. That of girls is princi-

pally confined to needle-work and the art of cooking, to modesty, respect for their superiors, and obedience to their husbands. Should this mode of education prevail among the women of all nations, there would be more happiness in married life, less divorces, and fewer reformers or advocates of woman's rights. The education of boys embraces the study of many subjects. Nor can any one hold a public office, who is not declared fully competent for it after three special examinations. In this respect, as in many others, have the Americans much to learn, even from the Chinese.

The people of China are very frugal, moderate and industrious. These characteristics have been, in a great measure, developed in their nature by the absence, in their system of education, of any theory capable of exciting strong desires in the heart of man. They have almost continually lived in peace; nor are any other people on earth more satisfied than them with their condition and their government. Rather than perceiving any ground for reforms they have always manifested a strong feeling of hostility to missionaries of all foreign creeds.

The Chinese are inferior to the European and American nations, in physical vigor, but almost equal to them in intellectual powers. Recently, the Americans, the English and the French have commenced teaching them the art of modern warfare. Consequently, the time may soon come when the Celestial inhabitants will carry their military science into

effect, even against their instructors. What would be the result of the movement of such a tremendous body of souls, expanding beyond their present lines and attempting to conquer territory, cannot be foretold; but the mere thought of such an event suffices to give warning, at least, if not immediate alarm.

The construction of a fleet, on the coast of China, capable of transporting across the Pacific an army formidable enough to invade America could not be performed without coming to the Americans' observation; but the Western coast of this Continent is so long and so unprotected that a powerful hostile navy might safely approach it at many points. The march of China's legions would be greatly favored by a land route in a project to conquer Europe and the rest of Asia.

BELGIUM.

Belgium has a territory of only 11,373 square miles, and is the most densely populated country in Europe, the number of its inhabitants averaging more than five hundred to the square mile.

Agriculture is extensive when the area of the country is considered, but is not sufficient for its tremendous population. It is to coal, iron and other mines, and to its various and numerous branches of industry that the prosperity of the Belgians is due.

It is also owing to the wisdom of its political insti-

tutions that such a large population can exist on such a small bit of land, that any riot can be speedily suppressed, and no mob arrogates to itself the legal power by lynching or other like methods.

The government of Belgium is a Constitutional hereditary monarchy. The King is declared inviolable, but his ministers are responsible for the acts of the administration. The population is almost entirely Catholic, having no more than twenty thousand Protestants and four thousand Jews. Nevertheless the Belgians have manifested such a liberal spirit towards religious liberty that the ministers of each sect receive subsidies from the state. The French language is the most spoken.

Education is greatly encouraged. Besides establishments of primary, secondary, and superior classes, numerous special schools, literary and scientific schools, academies of fine arts, and public libraries, are established throughout the country.

The press enjoys a vast domain of freedom, but as in all other well governed countries, it is bound to respect a certain limit; it has no right to publish any legal matters without permission of the courts, or to slander any one, or meddle in any individual's affairs with impunity.

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HOLLAND.

Holland comprises an area of twelve thousand seven hundred and thirty-one square miles, and has

a population of about four million showing a density of more than three hundred.

The soil is unfavorable to crops, and even the mineral resources are scanty. Nevertheless, the industry of the country has been greatly promoted since its separation from Belgium. The breeding of cattle is extensively carried on, and the fisheries are the most abundant sources of subsistence. The foreign commerce is still active, and Holland is noted for its able financiers and rich capitalists.

The government is a constitutional monarchy. But although the ministers are responsible, the Sovereign has more authority than either in Belgium or in England. He can declare war and conclude peace, make treaties and alliances, controls the financial department, and is the Supreme Commander of the army. He directs all appointments to the public service, and exerts much influence over the legislative power, while to him alone is entrusted the executive authority. All religions and the press are free, and all denominations are supported by the state. Education is greatly diffused among the population.

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

The Slavonic race to which the Russians belong, is a branch of the Caucasian family. The Scandinavians and the Russians, after being long considered

the descendants from distinct races, became at last combined.

Rurik was the founder of the empire, and the city of Kieff was the first in it, known to the world, about the ninth century. One of the successors of Rurik commissioned ambassadors to visit foreign countries for studying the different religions, and upon comparison, adopted the faith of the Greek Orthodox Church. He made himself master of the city of Cherson, in Crimea, which, at that time, was an integral part of the Byzantine empire, and succeeded to marry Anne, the emperor's daughter, on condition that he received baptism. After the marriage ceremony, which took place in Constantinople, he returned to Kieff, and ordered the image of Perun, the Slavonic god to be thrown into the river. On the following day, all the inhabitants following his example and obeying his orders, went to be baptized in the waters of the river. Thus was Russia Christianized. A great many republicans and democrats may laugh at this religious act, and call it superstition; but the conversion of a people, placing themselves under a moral power, is a more sublime spectacle, and gives a state more strength and more felicity than the action of twelve million sovereigns, proceeding to the polls, in a corrupt republic.

His son Yarosloff, prince of Novgorod, was the first legislator of Russia. The country was, afterwards, weakened and divided, for a time, in Aspanages. In this period the people of Galicia offered the govern-

ment of their principality to Roman, of Volhynia, who was successful in securing the throne only after a hard and bloody struggle. In the thirteenth century, Russia is invaded, for the first time, by the Mongols; and in the fourteenth, Galicia is absorbed in the Polish republic, and annexed to Lithuania. During the time of the Mongol Supremacy the material progress of the country came to a standstill, and Moscow was burned by the Barbarians.

In the fifteenth century Ivan III, the son of Vasilii founded the Russian autocracy. His national policy aiming at the consolidation of the entire Slavonic race under one crown was inaugurated by the loyalty and the patriotism of his subjects; and under his reign much territory and two republics were annexed to the Muscovite possessions. The subsequent aggrandizement and the strength of the empire resulted, not only from the inflexible rule of his successors Basil and Ivan IV, but also from the cooperation of most of the other tribes; for they were sensible enough to see that it was far safer for them to be annexed to it, than to remain independent, for guarding themselves against both internal dissensions and foreign invasion.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the time when, in all European countries feudalism was yielding to absolute monarchies, Michael, the first prince of the House of Romanoff ascended to the throne after, it is said, taking an oath to the Constitution. He recalled his father Philarete from Warsaw

where he had been incarcerated and promoted him to the patriarchate. Michael used his energies to improve the material condition of the people, and strengthened the army. He was succeeded by his son, Alexis, and his grandson, Feodor. Next came Ivan and Peter, under Sophia's regency, during the period of their minority. Ivan, being incapacitated, both mentally and physically, never took any part in the government. Peter, known as Peter the Great, assumed the administration of affairs in 1689.

Russia, having no other outlet than the White Sea, which is almost continually obstructed by ice, Peter conceived the design to give his people ports on some other sea route. He began by attacking the Turks, defeated Charles XII. of Sweden; the Cossacks and their republic, having aided Charles, lost their independence, and were annexed by the Muscovite Czar. He now set to work to civilize the country, taking the nations of the West as his models; and with the assistance of some foreigners, whom he paid for this purpose, he accomplished much good. He put an end to the public flagellation of defaulting debtors, suppressed the Oriental Seraglios and the Oriental style of men's dress. He remodeled the army on the plan of the most civilized countries, and visited Paris with a view to find other improvements which could be safely introduced into the empire.

The treaty of Nystad with Sweden gave Peter authority over Esthonia, Livonia, Ingria, and part of Finland; and in the following year, he became

master of many important places on the Volga river. On the death of Peter, his widow, Catharine, succeeded him, and continued to carry his plan of reforms. According to the ukase promulgated by Peter, that the ruler had the right of appointing his successor, she named Peter II. the son of Alexis, and in default of him and his issue, Anna, wife of the duke of Holstein and Elizabeth, her daughters. Peter II. exhibiting a disposition to oppose his grandfather's reforms, removed his court to Moscow. After his death, Anna of Courland, was called to the throne by the "High Secret Council," and after assenting to their terms, made her entry into the latter city, now capital of the empire. But immediately afterwards, on the suggestion of certain advisers she destroyed the documents she had signed at the request of the council. She was strongly censured for favoring the Germans.

On her death Elizabeth took the crown, and began her reign by opposing the Germans and restoring the Russian influence. In her time Frederick the Great of Prussia was defeated by the Russians, who soon after entered into Berlin.

Peter III, son of her sister Anna, succeeded Elizabeth, and Catharine his wife, a German woman, became the ruler of the Russian empire. It was in her reign that the country was divided into many governments, each of them being subdivided into districts. To achieve the fulfillment of the projects of Peter the Great, she annexed the republic of the Zapo-

robian Cossacks and Crimea, and made the Church depend entirely upon the imperial government, by depriving the monasteries of their serfs and lands, allotting them payments proportionate to their importance.

Catharine was, undoubtedly, a woman of transcendent genius, and since her death, which occurred in 1796, her name has ever been remembered with profound respect by the Russians. Her son, Paul, took a part in the war against the French republic; he was assassinated, 1801, and succeeded by his son, Alexander I, who had to defend Russia against most of the Napoleonic wars. Alexander had been forced by Napoleon to adhere to, and defend, the blockade, intended to close all continental ports to British commerce; but finding that Russia's interests were greatly injured by it, he withdrew his support from the French emperor, who in consequence of this, resolved to invade the Czar's vast dominions, in 1812. After several battles, Napoleon reached Moscow, but this city having been set on fire by the Russians, he was compelled to retreat. The loss of his great army, was the beginning of his downfall. Alexander died in 1825.

During those wars, Russia lost no territory, but acquired Finland which was surrendered by Sweden, also Poland, Bassarabia, Daghestan, Shirvan, and other places, in the Caucasus. He did much to ameliorate the condition of the serfs; and promoted public education by founding several universities.

The warlike spirit, the bravery and the stubbornness of Russian soldiery, is attributable to their loyalty and patriotism, and to their moral as well as their physical cooperation with their ruler's policy.

Nicolas is said not to have been as liberal as his predecessor. But, although he restricted the liberties of the press, literature made considerable progress in his reign. He conquered the provinces of Nakhitchewan and Erivan in Persia. In 1827 he secured the alliance of England and France to come in aid of the Greeks against the Turks. The utter destruction of the Turkish fleet was the result of this, after which Nicolas defeated the armies of Turkey both in Europe and Asia. After the revolution of 1848 he helped the emperor Francis Joseph to suppress the revolt of Hungary. To oppose his design on Turkey, England and France assisted by Italy, declared war against Russia, which, although they succeeded to win few battles, and take the South part of Sebastopol, was not productive of any good. Nicolas died before the end of this war, and his son, Alexander II, succeeded him, in 1855, and ended the struggle. Under his reign, Finland's privileges were insured. Schamyl was captured, Caucasus was pacified, and a new port was opened in Eastern Asia. In 1877, he aided the Slavonic Christians against the rule of Turkey. However the greatest act of his reign was the emancipation of the Serfs; and as a reward for his liberal spirit, his noble conduct, and the mildness of his government, he was assassinated, in 1881. His son

Alexander III, succeeded him, and was crowned in Moscow, 1883.

The Russian empire comprehends a vast territory in Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, covering an area of more than eight million five hundred thousand square miles. European Russia occupies two million ninety-five thousand five hundred miles, and has a population exceeding eighty seven million, or about forty-two to the square mile. Asiatic Russia, which covers six million five hundred thousand square miles, contains a population of only sixteen million inhabitants. The rates of emigration and immigration are about equal.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people; but the country is far from yielding as large crops as the United States of America. Hunting, fishing and the breeding of cattle, are extensively carried on.

The country is very rich in minerals and metals, and the government is constantly making great efforts to develop industries and promote commerce. The production of coal is greatly and steadily increasing; and cotton is now raised in sufficient quantity for home consumption.

THE GOVERNMENT.

The government of Russia is an absolute monarchy. To the Czar belong the legislative, the executive and judicial powers. He has four separate councils; the

senate, the committee of ministers, the council of the empire, and the holy synod. They are all nominated by him. The ministers execute the will and interpret the laws. The council is a consultative body with regard to legislation; the senate registers and promulgates laws. There is also a department whose duty is to render judgment in political cases. The synod, composed of metropolitans and bishops, superintends religious affairs.

The state is organized in towns or small communities, a certain number of which are united into "volosts." The inhabitants of each volost elect an elder and a peasants' tribunal, controlled by the representative of the Czar's government.

The judiciary system of the country is very liberal; and very democratic with regard to the justices of the peace, as these judges are elected by the people in their respective communities. They have jurisdiction over all cases that involve less than six months' imprisonment, or less than five hundred roubles. All criminal cases subject to severe punishments are tried by juries. Civil cases involving more than five hundred roubles are tried before judges. The decisions of all courts and verdicts of juries can be brought up to higher courts for appeal. Political and military offenses are tried by special tribunals.

The poor people can sue for their dues without giving security for costs, as under all other European governments.

There is no death penalty, except sometimes, for

high treason; and premeditated murder is not even punished by life imprisonment.

Although the Czar is not the head of the Church, he exerts considerable influence over it, as he nominates all the bishops; but the synods decide all theological questions. Besides the state religion, other religious faiths are tolerated, the principal of which are the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jewish, and the Moslem.

Primary and secondary education is making progress; philosophy and all natural sciences are highly cultivated.

Nothing is more false than the frequent assertions of republicans that the Czar's government stands against the will of the people. A handful of political fanatics are capable of causing considerable mischief, even in any monarchy, whatever the extent of its territory and its population may be; and the spread of such news suffices to make people, abroad, believe, or at least suspect, that everything is ablaze around the throne.

Russia is the youngest nation of Europe, and one of the most promising, in the world. Taught by the experience of almost all civilized countries, its authority and its best classes will act very judiciously, before making changes in the government; as they know that, if the giving of political liberties is easy, the restraining of license or the reforming of abuses is extremely difficult. It is almost impossible to bring a people back to their duties, after their morals

have been once relaxed; and this should be a subject of deep study for all nations and principally for American republics. So long as Russia will maintain its present institutions, and the masses will preserve their frugal mode of life, that the nation will grow and grow formidable, is clearly demonstrated by its past achievements.

PARALLEL BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

Of all the absolute governments, the Russian monarchy is regarded by Americans as the most dreadful despotism on earth. Yet, if they are asked to explain this, they are at a loss to find facts to substantiate their opinions; and the most formidable censors among them will say: "In Russia there is no freedom of the press, no freedom of speech; the government is too severe upon prisoners or political offenders; the people, being kept in ignorance by the superstitions of the Orthodox Churches, are not progressive; the Czar is not safe at home." It is not proposed to discuss these points, as a mere comparison between the American republic and the Russian monarchy will be deemed sufficient by the reader to enable him to judge their respective merits.

The Russian nation has a head, the American people have none

The Czar of Russia stands by the will of the great majority; the President of the republic, sometimes is elected by the minority, of the people.

The government of Russia executes the laws; in the United States, they make laws and talk about laws.

In Russia, the law is so plain that every individual knows his duties to the government; and then he is never in doubt as to know how to conduct himself. He must respect the authority, but is likewise protected by it in the enjoyment of his privileges. In the American republic, the citizens are perplexed as to what to say or what to do for popularity; and even the President or the governors are often insulted for exercising their political prerogative.

In the former the press, like all other institutions, is governed; in the latter, it governs.

In Russia public servants cannot hold their positions unless they rigidly fulfill their obligations to the people; in the great republic too many politicians in office, and especially court officials, are enslaved with regard to the performance of duties by the fear of forfeiting the good will or the electoral support of a dangerous element.

In the former no one is ever punished for crime or treason without trial; in the latter accused persons often suffer the death penalty without legal proceedings.

In the Czar's Dominions, flogging has been abolished long ago; but it is still practiced in parts of the land of the free.

In Russia, masters are polite to their servants; in the American democracy servants or employees are generally rude to their masters.

Russia keeps a standing army proportioned to her wants, as does the American republic; in the latter, beside this, a vast number of people carry arms to protect themselves.

In the Russian Empire a class of fanatics clamor for reforms that are not needed, on the American model; in the American Commonwealth, the best people demand reforms that can not be accomplished under their present constitution.

In the former a party demands more freedom of speech and of the press; in the latter a large portion of the population are becoming tired of it.

The Americans owe their growth to causes entirely foreign to their institutions; the building up of the Russian nation is due to its own principles.

In the period of eighty years, two Czars, Paul I and Alexander II, were assassinated, and in fifteen years, two American Presidents perished, the one by the hands of a democrat, the other by the bullets of a republican.

In the great republic many hundred thousand lives were sacrificed, and billions of dollars expended to carry on a useless war, which, though it resulted in the abolition of slavery, created an everlasting rancor between North and South, and rendered the nation octoroon. Aleaxnder II, of Russia, the victim of blind admirers of the American democracy, voluntarily

emancipated the Serfs of his country, without the sacrifice of a life, or of a rouble, and without modifying the type of the people.

The two extremes of Politics are: Despotic Absolutism and Corrupt Democracy. The Russian government is one of the mildest and purest governments. But is not the American Democracy one of the most corrupt institutions on earth?

CHURCH AND STATE.

RELIGION AND MATERIALISM. COMPLETE IGNORANCE
AND FALSE KNOWLEDGE.

The rapid increase of vice and crime depicted with so much lamentation by pulpit orators, and often alluded to by the press, is, no doubt, serious enough to fill the souls of all religious people with the most grave apprehensions concerning the fate of mankind. In an age of money, steam and electricity, there is nothing wonderfully surprising as to the possible decay of public morality when we know the ascendancy which material interests are apt to gain over religious ideas. It is very interesting indeed, to careful observers, yet painful to moralists, amusing and rather gratifying for atheists and agnostics, in our times, to notice the reciprocal attitude of Church and State, and that vast diversity of opinion with regard to the destiny of man. The ministers of the

several religious beliefs or denominations, justly claiming authority over the noblest part of man, if his soul is worth more than the life of the irrational animal, find themselves, in the meantime, placed under the rule of a material government. Influenced by fear, by a spirit of submission or scrupulous loyalty, they refrain from exposing the main causes that are at work to undermine society, and from suggesting a remedy capable of checking the spread of corruption; but they humbly and constantly solicit in vain both the concurrent endeavor of this earthly power and the educational influences of the press in aiding them to regenerate the character of man, and the moral state of society. On the other hand, the state government and the press, whose chief object is, money, or, at best, the protection of man's life and material property, care nothing for the salvation of his soul; and, far from heeding the supplications of religious apostles, they seem to regard religion or any church, not always with the utmost indifference, but generally, as a most deplorable obstruction in the way of human progress.

From the nature of such political institutions, arose that spirit of materialism, which now pervades some of the most civilized nations of the world. •Statesmen and writers are at liberty to antagonize the religious school by influencing the minds against the pretensions and the orders of the church; nor are they more disturbed by its anathemas or denunciations, than they seem impressed or honored by its blessings.

But we can not perceive, without amazement or just provocation, the enormous inconsistencies and the errors into which those philosophers incessantly involve people in discussing or commenting upon all questions, related to this subject. Assuming their airs of respectability and exemplary edification they frequently make their boasts of moral or Christian principles; they constantly utter the words of virtue, justice, truth, oath, friendship, honesty, charity, fidelity and chastity. While they exert every faculty of their mind to secure the enactment of a law and insure the triumph of a principle, and would stake their lives in defending the honor of their wives, of their sisters and of their daughters; while they witness the enormous growth of political or social evils, and candidly recognize the urgent necessity of reforms, they scruple not to create scandal, or set a most pernicious example, by ascribing Divine worship, the authority of theologians, the influence of religion or of spiritual advisers to the people's ignorance and superstition. With faces bearing the stamp of metal, they pretend, moreover, to know, and they assert as energetically as Christian apostles or sound moralists, that justice and morality constitute the foundation of human society and of civil government. Yet, however so strong their pretensions, they seem to ignore, or they deny the cause that has brought forth those very virtues; and through their sophistical ingenuity, their false theories, and unwise policies, they rival an institution, which has been, at all times,

the principal factor of civilization, and the mightiest power on earth in preserving both individuals and society.

What is the source of these fundamental principles, justice and morality? Two forces, not only different, but entirely opposed to one another, "Religion and Materialism," claim them respectively, as their own attributes; and each of them pretends to possess a power, paramount to that of the other. Before judging of the respective merits of these two agencies, and deciding which of them shows the more just title to its claim, it is deemed necessary to know the characteristics and the relations of both of them to the nature and destiny of man, and the influences which they exercise in forming his character, protecting society, and promoting mankind.

Materialism, or natural philosophy, recognizes in man but two distinct parts, the animal and the rational; in addition to them, Religion asserts in him the immortality of his soul, and declares that owing to the errors of his reason, he must be guided by the light of a spiritual power to preserve him against the vices of his animal part. The religious moralists further say that a school must exist to promote justice and morality in this world and help man to work up his destiny beyond this life.

It is against this moral power that the materialists revolt. In accordance with such doctrines as were inaugurated by the republican party of France, in the last century, they discard, not only the revealed

religion of Christ, but all other religious beliefs. They assert that man, governed by no other law than his will, is capable of conducting himself properly, that nature is the principle of justice and morality, and can alone insure to all peoples of the earth a life of liberty, peace and prosperity, and consequently, that any religion but the worship of Reason keeps the human mind in subjugation and ignorance.

They pretend to be far more concerned than all other theorists, in man's moral development and in general progress; nevertheless they fail to recognize, or even perceive any improvement but in matter. Although regarding the intellect of man superior to the mere instinct of the irrational brute, they say or seem to think that it comes from nothing, if not from matter, and must return finally to nothing. They act and live as if they should never die, or according to the idea that the last moment of their existence on earth puts an end to everything that is dearest to them.

The materialist, who has acquired little education, becomes, sometimes, a comedian, in assuming the tone of a philosopher. In his attempts to interest or instruct his audience by expressing original ideas, he always commences to declare to them that man is a beast. In accompanying such utterance with a smile of self-esteem, he looks around him for admiration or applause. But, as he seems to think it more reasonable that man's soul or intellect should arise from matter, than from a source of infinite wisdom,

he suddenly rises to such a height of pretensions as to deny intellectual authorship to the Universe, which, he naturally knows no human being could create. Reason itself teaches us to attribute the existence of the Universe to a Supernatural cause, and recognize the operation of this very cause at that supreme moment when life comes to animate the flesh in the human body. Why is it irrational to believe even in the divinity of Christ? What an easy task could his birth, without the service of man, be to Him that has created mankind. Unwilling to acknowledge the existence of a mind superior to his own, the materialist falls to the level of the brute and receives his inspirations from the same source that actuates it. He stupidly argues that any reasonable being will abstain from committing any wrong, fearing that it will injure him, and that he will become better adapted for free government as he cultivates his intelligence according to the principles of natural philosophy. It is almost incredible that such absurd ideas should ever enter into the minds of sensible people. And the press, aspiring to the exalted profession of educating the masses, deserves nothing but censure and condemnation for thus leading them astray upon a subject of such vast importance. Besides there is almost a general disposition in people, and more particularly among preachers of certain churches, and other public speakers, to always associate vice and crime with no other condition than pauperism or ignorance. This is another grave error.

It would be sophistical to say that the progress of science, art, and general learning, or even the acquisition of money can directly corrupt the morals of men; but it has already been asserted by moralists and can be clearly demonstrated to all those who have but a little power of observation, or are open to conviction, that men may employ their knowledge, or all the means at their disposal, as effectively in developing or gratifying their vices, as in practicing their virtues. The materialist, acknowledging that he is actuated by selfish motives and fear, in leading a moral life, may become vicious as soon as he sees an opportunity of deriving a material gain from his change of conduct. The moral principle of Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher, "Honesty is the best policy," may be adhered to by his warmest admirers only so long as they think that integrity is for them a source of income. And a woman of such principles may be chaste or true to her husband, only so long as she has enough money to lead an extravagant mode of life. It is also true that persons naturally virtuous, if constantly exposed, may at last succumb, to evil temptations.

Before proceeding further into this subject, we must bear in mind not to confound the popular or worldly meaning of the words:—"intelligence, understanding, reason, knowledge, ignorance, fool," with their Biblical sense, as often do cunningly or unconsciously the readers of the Bible in arguing on such subjects as this. It is known that in the Scriptures,

any of these words: "intelligence, understanding" etc. mean piety, religion, justice, morality, and that the words: "ignorant, fool," mean wickedness or viciousness, impious or wicked. This interpretation of these words does not mean that men of education or genius in the popular sense, such as, orators, philosophers, literary men, artists, successful traders, and merchants, generals and statesmen are pious or religious and fit subjects for Heaven; but it means that men of those classes, with all their worldly knowledge, are fools, if they be so impious as to use their intellect for acquiring worldly riches or honors, while damning their souls; it means that a man, however so poor, and so ignorant he may be in the eyes of the people, is a person of intelligence and knowledge, if he be so pious or religious, as to sacrifice his worldly pleasures to eternal felicity. Much more could be said on this subject, but as the intention is to refer to religious matters, as little as possible, this is deemed sufficient to establish the proper line of argument in treating upon the present thesis.

Let us now observe for a moment the moral condition of some men in every civilized nation of the world. Are we to say that one is deprived of reason or learning, because he is a hypocrite, a betrayer, a seducer, a perjurer? Are we to consider him especially irresponsible for his acts, when devoured by the fire of ambition and avarice, or moved by sentiments of ferocity and revenge, he deeply and coolly meditates, incendiarism, robbery and murder? Can

it be said that people, of elementary, secondary, or high education, or of the highest attainments in any of the professions, are never guilty of crimes like people entirely deprived of knowledge? If all persons who commit such horrible deeds were declared insane, they would not be punished as they often are, by any human law, because laboring under such mental condition, they could not be held answerable for their acts, nor would they ever incur the wrath of God according to Christian believers, because then they would not be sane enough to be ranked among the fools or impious, considering the theological interpretation of the Scriptures.

The rape of Lucretia, the murder of Cæsar, the treason of the House of Guise, the massacre of St. Bartholemew, the Gun-powder plot, the murder of Paul I. and of Alexander II. of Russia, and of Lincoln and of Garfield, were not the results of insanity or ignorance, but of deeply laid schemes, suggested by the fire of passions, revenge, ambition, and assisted by both learning and the full vigor of reason. And the perpetrators of all these crimes were far more intelligent than those republicans or democrats who impute to them a lack of knowledge, according to their own meaning of the word.

Can we assert that a man is ignorant, in the popular sense of the word, because he leads a young and innocent girl to a vile theatrical show? Does he act like an insane man, who through the darkness of night, which favors vice and principally seduction of women,

the demoralizing influence of an immoral play and spectacular pomp, his offer of presents to her whose tender mind may be easily affected by the display of ornaments and splendor, and the excitement following a late wine supper he succeeds in accomplishing her ruin? And who is ready to say that seducers of women or of young girls are more numerous among the ignorant or paupers than among the men of wealth and intellectual culture? And which is the fool of the two, the seducer, or the other that trusts, in all cases, human reason, by allowing his family an unlimited freedom of action? Let naturalists tell this.

It is generally conceded that in all civilized countries jurists are characterized as the best adapted class for politics, and are most generally chosen for government. Then, according to republican principles, men of the legal profession should be the most virtuous members of a community. Nevertheless, law practicing, although its main object is supposed to promote the ends of justice is said not to be always carried out on the most respectable basis. We are told that in all nations of the world, are found some unscrupulous lawyers, and even a few corrupt jurists presiding in the law-courts. Is this true? If it is a false rumor, let it be denied at once, for we are disposed to believe, that, not only in monarchies, but, even in corrupt republics, the number of the latter class at least, is very small. It seems impossible that men who must be regarded as the most exemplary representatives of justice and virtue, would be so un-

principled as to carry on their profession or use their exalted position for ill-gains or other improper purposes. How much mischief or injustice can dishonest lawyers or judges accomplish, with impunity, by means of their superiority in legal knowledge over all other classes, can not be estimated. But, as some of these supposed champions of virtue and respectability, fail in their conduct, or become unworthy of the important trust placed in them by the nation, how can it be reasonably expected that in any other class of the community all men will be strictly honest or free from selfish motives?

What requires more intellectual culture and greater moral qualities than the medical profession? Yet, notwithstanding the fact that people confide their lives to their ability and honor, some physicians will, with intent and malice, lend the assistance of their skill and science to the commission of the most abominable crimes. Besides, is not the science of chemistry, employed to murder people, and murder them at long range, too? Can any ignorant man or pauper have at his disposal as safe means to perpetrate such deeds, cover his traces, and escape punishment, as those that may be employed, in similar cases, by a lawyer or a medical doctor, or a scientist, or a wealthy individual?

Architecture, sculpture, painting, and other fine arts, are not, in theory, even suggestive of vice; but practically, some of them offer as great opportunities of corruption as any other branch of learning. More-

over, the erection of splendid or sumptuous edifices and superb monuments, and fashionable displays, will excite in the hearts of a great many persons, strong desire for riches and lead them to adopt dishonest methods of acquiring such luxuries.

Commerce and all the various trades, carried on by a civilized nation, however so legitimate and respectable they may be, open the broadest field for sharp practice, crafty and unscrupulous artifices. Placed in such circumstances, some men are gradually and insensibly induced to lying, breach of trust, frauds, robbery and arson, etc.

Moreover the same inventions, or great productions of human ingenuity, intended to benefit mankind, are frequently employed to assist in the perpetration of the most heinous crimes, or in terrorizing society; the malicious wrecking of trains on railroads, and the diabolical use of explosives, such as powder and dynamite, show that the growth of vice never fails to keep pace with the rise of civilization, especially, in any republic engaged exclusively in the easy task of promoting materialism, and tolerating or encouraging licentiousness.

The mechanical skill displayed, and the large amount of money expended by Americans, in the construction of their vaults or coffers, for the safe-keeping of their treasures, and the fact that these extraordinary measures of security are frequently baffled by some of their citizens, show, how closely, is material progress in their republic, pursued by audacity and criminal ingenuity.

Again, let the criminal records be examined in all nations, and it will be found that almost all the crimes have been and are now being committed in populous cities, or outside of rural districts, in the same places where dwell the most learned and most fashionable people.

In the opinion of a great many republicans, they are the only criminals, who, destitute of everything, steal, to procure the means for buying food; but they are honorable and intelligent business men who rob the people of thousands or millions. Petit larceny is common enough in all countries; and in republics, next to civil or foreign wars, gigantic and systematic schemes of plunder have been their greatest achievements, and were carried by the most educated men, and even by the press and public educators.

The republicans, throughout the world, often express the idea that in educating all people alike, without religion, they will all be equally intelligent, and consequently, can not deceive one another. This is one of their visions, without foresight. In the first place, all men are not endowed with the same amount of intelligence; and how is it possible that the working classes, as a rule, acquire the same learning as professional men, artists or statesmen? Once the development of selfishness, in the republic, gave rise to this motto: "Take care of number One," which was soon followed by the other, "Diamond cuts Diamond," meaning that the educated and the intelligent excel or deceive the educated and the intelligent.

Is it not evident, Mr. Robert Ingersoll, that the mere intellectual development of man can not be depended upon for self-government? Is it not conclusive, devoted adherents to Thomas Paine's doctrines, that the government of any nation must be strengthened according to the degree of growth of its civilization, for the protection of man and society?

Natural Philosophy and Materialism having failed as a moral and political school, Religion shall now be the subject of the next investigations: To the assertions so often repeated that Christianity has always aimed, and is still aiming at holding the human mind in ignorance and servitude, a complete denial is given. Christianity has been the only civilizing power since the time of Constantine, Emperor of Rome. And even before this epoch it had made the Pagans assembled in the Roman Colosseum blush at their barbarous pleasures by disarming the gladiators in their presence. It had already deprived them of their right of death upon their slaves and emancipated their women from a life of shameful bondage. It was the sight of the blood of the Christian martyrs that was the most solid argument to induce the Pagans gradually to make such reforms, and ultimately cast the statues of their gods aside, and erect the cross upon the ruins of their ancient altars.

Most of the laws governing the civilized nations are based on Christian principles; and to Christianity these nations are indebted for their supremacy over those of Asia, both as to moral and material advancement.

Ever since the Church has established the new civilization upon the remains of the Empire of the West, it has been constantly engaged in instructing people in all branches of learning. It never ceased to promote fine arts and principally architecture; and has even inaugurated many branches of manufacture, first in Italy and in France. The Church has reared the best scholars and even the most learned of its rivals, such as Voltaire and Rousseau. The Church has lent its aid in discovering new places, and its missionaries have, voluntarily, to their peril, introduced civilization into them. By attempting to convert Indians and other barbarous tribes they have succeeded to prepare the way for the European nations to settle in those new countries and cause them to extend their field of industries and their commerce. From such advantages, religious people and materialists alike, have derived great wealth. To the incessant labors and benign influences of the Church, the American nations owe their birth, their preservation and their growth. In all countries the principal Christian Churches have always been opposed to a national system of education, devoid of religion, and still denounce its doctrines as false knowledge, very dangerous to a state. They would rather have a nation completely ignorant than one reared in Materialism. That they are perfectly right in their views shall be substantially demonstrated.

It has already been said somewhere in this work, and it is here repeated, that, whosoever has acquired

a false knowledge wanders more from the truth, and is more incompetent to govern himself in a democracy, than he who has never attended any school and resembles an edifice, which, defective in construction, must be repaired for public safety. It can not be denied that ignorance is eminently productive of respect, moderation, love, fear, charity, disinterestedness and obedience, which characterize a good citizen, and principally constitute the beau-ideal of patriotism, but false knowledge not only opposes these virtues, but engenders or stimulates all the opposite vices that constantly confront and ultimately bring a nation to ruin.

There are a great many men in this world, who are fond of saying many things, because such things have been said by others. Once it was declared that Church and State should be separated, and others have followed, and still follow, repeating: "Church and State should be separated." But, if they are asked why that should be so, they can not answer, but that they are two different things, and they are capable of saying this too, only because they have heard others say it. This is about the limit of their knowledge upon this subject, and is, in their prolific mind, overwhelming evidence, in support of their proposition.

Although there is not the least intention to discourse upon any religious doctrines or to exhort the people to the salvation of their souls, either in this, or in the next world, it can justly be said that this is

a matter of the most vital importance to all men. Now the question arises whether or not there is any future state of things? In either case every person has a self-interest to protect. No one wishes to sacrifice his worldly interests or pleasures for a contemplated happiness, which he is never to enjoy; nor does he intend to exchange an everlasting state of felicity and burn or otherwise suffer all eternity, for the pleasures of a few moments. Compared to eternity, a life of even a hundred years, is not longer than that of a few days.

If religion is not based upon a Supernatural power, it is worse than superstition itself, and every church is a false institution. Not only should it be separated from the State, but every civil government should rise at once and blot it out of existence. On the other hand, if man's soul is immortal, it has a destiny to promote beyond this life; and consequently religion requires the most attention from man, and even from civil governments.

Ever since the birth of mankind, all the nations of the world, have always expressed their belief in a Supreme Being, and have united on this fundamental idea of the Universe and of man's existence. It is this innate opinion ruling the souls of the first inhabitants of the earth, the voice of God through their conscience, and the reproach of God through their remorse that enabled them to distinguish between good and evil, recognize their superiority over the beast, and institute the virtues of justice and morality.

The idea of virtues is so intimately connected with the idea of God and eternity, that the one can not be conceived without the other, nor can they be separated. On these principles they founded society and government; and for their preservation, and for the moral development of man, they have established Divine worship.

In every country we find temples, altars, religious ceremonies, and spiritual advisers. The oath, this most solemn appeal to God for the truth of everything that is declared or testified, has been, from time immemorial, borrowed from religion by civil governments, and employed till the present time, as their principal means of administering justice. Although perjury is considered as a great crime, and is punishable in this world by severe penalties, how many people are there who will commit it, knowing that they can escape the limited knowledge of human intellect, in all cases which they can render favorable to their material interests by a false oath? If all men were reared from their early youth to a firm belief in the Divinity, a mind of infinite power and justice, that penetrates into all their secrets, knows all their actions, hears all their utterances, and sees every thing that is hidden in their hearts; if they were all taught constantly that God keeps a record of their deeds and designs, will reward them for their virtues, and punish them for their wrongs, they would undoubtedly be far better disposed to tell the truth and refrain from vice and crime, than atheists, or materialists or agnostics.

It becomes evident that religion has no other object but that of meddling in worldly affairs. Nor was Christianity or any other religious creed made merely to promote material interests. But, its principles, teaching moderation and justice, are more likely to lead individuals and nations to material prosperity, than materialism, which turns the mind to vice and extravagance. A vicious mode of life, though it often brings man to grief, is far more costly than good and respectable living. Moreover, by aiding man to accomplish his salvation in future life, it has more power than any other agency to make him behave righteously on earth, and is thereby of unquestionable assistance to civil governments, in maintaining justice and order in society. Such being the case, how can it be controverted that a state is greatly obligated to, or in great need of, the church.

The assertion that religion, which is first established in a state, falls in neglect, after a certain period, is well applied to the social corruption, which never fails to spring up in a democracy, and prepare its downfall. A state, to rest upon a solid basis, must have a fixed moral principle which all people should, at least, be compelled to respect. But when it commences to manifest that liberal spirit of tolerating the expression of ideas of all sorts, it becomes a ship without a pilot. The religion and the institution of Vestals, established by Numa Pompilius, in Rome, preserved the morals of the Romans until political license and the Epicurean doctrines of the Greeks

were introduced into the republic. When religion began losing its influence upon the people, but very few men could be depended upon for veracity; nor women of any class could be trusted for chastity. It is at that time that a cook, whose services are prescribed by so called philosophers of modern republics for man's salvation, was far more respected than the artist, the orator or the philosopher, and that the Romans commenced to indulge in extravagant living, and in vomiting. Attention, Mr. Ingersoll!

The Agnostics confess their complete ignorance by asserting that they can not affirm nor deny the existence of Supernaturalism. Such confession is more commendable than mere pretenses to knowledge.

The Stoics seem to be more austere than the materialists or the Epicureans, and less selfish than all sects, as they are claiming no reward for the practicing of virtue, but the pleasure of virtue itself. Such disinterestedness and frigidity of feeling is unnatural, nor can it be relied upon as a principle of morality. Nature has accompanied the function of its laws with pleasures upon which depends true progress and even the growth of mankind. And when any human being has ceased to participate in the enjoyment of those pleasures, he falls into a most profound state of apathy, and is but a living cadaver. Evidently it is natural and Divine that any one be led to the practicing of virtue, to the performance of any duty or sacrifice, by no other motive than the hope of being rewarded.

The modern materialist, like the Epicurean of the ancient times, while pretending to see nothing in religion but superstition, esteems himself as the main object of interest in the creation. What does he care for mankind? If the world could only last till the time of his removal from it, why should he not be satisfied? It is very doubtful, if he would be capable of such a philanthropic effort as to sacrifice one of his dishes or any of his pleasures to let it survive him, were it depending on his liberality for continuing to exist a moment after his disappearance.

Which is the more worthy of trust in all cases and all emergencies, in the service of government, and on the battle field, the man of reason, who has no concern but for his pleasures, or the other inspired by ideas of Supernaturalism? Were the Christian martyrs, who are ridiculed by atheists, actuated by mere superstition, in preferring death to idolatry? Were all those missionaries inspired like the materialists, by the love of themselves, who have suffered all modes of hardship and voluntarily exposed their lives to introduce civilization in barbarous countries? Were not the crusaders, in the middle ages, animated by a true spirit of religion? What grander spectacle has ever been offered by the world, than the union of all the European nations, under one banner, marching to the rescue of the tomb of Christ from the hands of barbarians?

It is often said by capricious individuals that societies, and especially secret societies, are better adapted

than religion to the moral development of man. Nothing is more erroneous than such assertion. The most benevolent organizations take their principles from religion itself. It is not denied that some of them produce a great deal of good, nor is it intended to expose any of their shortcomings. But how is it possible that institutions inaccessible to young men of less than twenty-one years of age be considered as moral schools, as all persons, at that age, are supposed to have received, at least, their primary education, and some of them have entered into the practice of a trade or a profession, and others have already been punished for crime.

The natural philosophers can never sustain logical contests on any question of morality. Having nothing sound to say, they generally attempt to entertain their hearers with jokes; and when they find themselves confounded by the arguments of their adversaries, they commence dealing with exceptions, but only to exhibit the more, the weakness of their propositions and their narrow-mindedness. For instance they will say: "Not only among us are faulty people to be found, but they exist also among church visitors." No religious person, like the materialist, pretends to be perfect in all things; church members and even spiritual advisers are all men like others, more or less susceptible of giving in to vice. But is it right to condemn a religion or a church, on account of a few that may sometimes fall or even use it as a cloak to shield their faults? Notwithstanding the courts

of law in every country are instituted for the good of the people, it is known that a great deal of wrong is committed through them. Nevertheless, would it not be idiotic to dispense with the temples of justice simply because a few dishonest lawyers and judges dwell in them? Moreover, consider, if with all the moral influence that religions exert upon society, vice is spreading, what would the social condition of a nation be, if it were entirely depending on materialism for morality and justice? All the fallen women, all the unfaithful wives and indifferent mothers, all the untrustworthy public and private servants, all suicides, perjurers, anarchists, murderers and criminals of all classes, with very few exceptions, exist among materialists, or agnostics.

Materialism, in its vigorous struggle to bring the human being down to the level of the irrational animal, has always succeeded, with the assistance of civil governments, that care nothing but for the preservation of matter, to attract or fascinate the minds by nakedness. And, if materialists have not yet been seen on the streets or any public road, as naked or as indecently clad, as their favorite women are allowed to appear on the stage, for gains, their painful restraint is attributable to a remnant of moral influence still exercised by religions and the churches in counteracting, in a very great measure, the effects of political corruption of so-called democratic institutions. But civil authorities will stupidly say: "Those actresses alluded to never appear naked."

What is the difference between real nakedness and tight garments, as to the effect produced by the show upon the character of the spectators? However, there may be this:—In many cases, the former, being most hideous and repulsive, would not be dangerous to men's morals; but the latter, which cover all natural defects and aim to attain ideal perfection, becomes the more suggestive of immorality. Some people go so far as saying that moral lessons are taught by theatres as well as by churches. This assertion may be true but in very few cases, and generally is mere excuse or a deceitful artifice to escape from restraint. It is not necessary to be a religious minister to know that almost all theatrical performances, even those not accompanied with tights, are extremely opposed to public morality; as they lead men to extravagance, and stir up their vilest passions, and women to dissipation, seduction, and neglect or complete repudiation of the duties devolved upon them. Were society in all nations to depend entirely on other influences than religion, or on the theatrical schools, for morality, the masses would soon rank, as to virtue, with the ancient worshipers of Baal and Astarte.

Nothing is more clearly proven than that the Epicureans, the Stoics, the modern materialists and the agnostics, would have never known, nor even uttered the words of "justice, integrity and chastity" had not these virtues been first taught, and afterwards maintained, by religion and the church. For, should

the destiny of man end, like that of the mere beast with this life, there could be no difference between justice and injustice, or morality and immorality. Evidently, it is the very principle established by religion, which, while it gives life and vigor to civil governments, renders many materialists capable of leading an apparently good life and permits them to enjoy, in peace, all their pleasures. They scorn the spring, but refresh themselves with its waters; they run down the vine, but comfort themselves with its fruit.

Now, Mr. Ingersoll, and you other natural philosophers, can you consistently persist in characterizing religion as superstition? And if you fail to retract your assertions upon this subject, why should you not call public morality, or the practicing of private virtues, by the same name?

It is now proposed to demonstrate from the Naturalist's standpoint itself, that religion is the most competent agency to promote the interests of nations. Any one who pretends to be most practical in all things must necessarily confess that the increase of the human species is the very first condition of material progress, setting aside moral development; and consequently, any cause or principle that is in the way of its expansion is entirely opposed to advancement. The world may be revolutionized by the most ingenious inventions, all portions of the earth may be connected by railways or electric wires, the oceans crossed in all directions by the swiftest steam-

ers. Nations may have attained the zenith of their glory, and the most perfect state in all branches of industry, in arts and sciences, their generals and warriors may not be excelled for strategy, discipline and valor, and their statesmen may have solved the problem of government. All such wonders, no doubt, excite the admiration and exalt the enthusiasm of mankind, and bestow high honors upon the names of those who are most intimately related to them. But how could such achievements be possible under the exclusive rule of Naturalism? Ever since the Epicurean sect was established in Greece, in opposition to the moral schools of Socrates and Plato, the materialists have claimed, as we have seen, the distinguished honor of directing human progress in stirring up the vilest passions of man. Their doctrines, which sacrifice the natural growth or the strength of a people to the individual's worldly or sensual pleasures, never fail to hasten the ruin, or work at the extinction, of nations. And should this principle be now entirely substituted in place of religion, can it be doubted that through its process of gradual and rapid annihilation, all monuments of human intellect, and even mankind itself would soon be completely blotted out.

It is both in France and in the United States of America, that the fiercest conflict is raging between Religion and Materialism. Nothing is more noticeable, in these two great republics, than the errors of the very classes supposed to be the most progressive and most enlightened of their respective population. It

is one of their principal boasts that women were born simply to enjoy themselves. The procreation and the care of children are not only assigned to the ignorance or old fogysm of people, but are considered by a great many as the conditions of most abject and most cruel servitude. In their opinion, any individual, who, in this age of enlightenment, insists upon his wife becoming a mother, is brutal and unworthy of married life. So-called intelligent, or smart, or progressive, women, in large numbers, now marry, not to be wives or mothers, but to improve their condition, as they say, that is, to live in a state of idleness, luxury and extravagance, like all concubines.

What signify so many families of two, composed of man and wife who have been married for so many years? This dude, of progressive ideas will say: "I am not a farmer, nor do I intend to let my wife ruin her beautiful form, and her noble appearance for a child; we are happy now; and besides, if at any time we should want to separate, or seek a divorce, the absence of children would increase our facilities and our convenience for doing so. But suppose we had children, consider, for a moment the burden that would rest on their father; and the poor mother would be bound to remain at home like a slave, ignored by every one, but a crying baby. The rearing of children is inconsistent, with the idea of the nineteenth century, with Paris, the seat of fashions for the most civilized nations of the earth, with the Statue of Bartholdi, the great enlightener of the world; it is un-American."

It is moreover asserted that next to religion, complete ignorance is the most capable to stimulate the growth of mankind. Some men, with the assistance of their reason, of their talents and science, will not only yield to the empire of their passions, but will violate the laws of nature, far more than the beasts. Nor could the latter ever be capable of that degree of degradation which a reasonable being can lower himself to unless it could become constituted like him, both physically and mentally. Let it be supposed that quadrupeds could use their front feet for the same purpose as men employ their hands; that, although they would remain unconscious of a Creator, and would, still, have no more destiny beyond this world than they have now, it would be possible that they could gain perfect freedom, and acquire like men the faculty of speech and sufficient intelligence to be taught in reading, writing and all branches of natural philosophy; could it be doubted, that in all things, they would equal the Naturalists and be worthy of sitting by them in their schools, provided that these human beings would never have been subjected, either directly or indirectly, to any religious influence, whatsoever? There is nothing in this hypothesis to indicate that the beasts would become more moral; but it is certain that they would have far better facilities for robbing, deceiving and killing one another, than in their present condition. Endowed with the full exercise of human intellectual powers they could not entertain themselves with subjects of conversation

more agreeable or more vile than money, drinks or food, nor spend their earnings in a manner more suitable to their nature and to the principles of the worshipers of Reason, than in Epicurean style, drunkenness, vomiting, or in boundless and even unnatural debauchery. Nor could they sooner annihilate their own species than by following the doctrines of those bombastic emancipators of the human mind, or more promote their individual felicity, than by frustrating the laws of nature, while indulging in its excessive pleasures. Thrown in the company of materialists, they would soon become so demoralized as to acquire all the tricks of bad education, and would have, like them, more sense than to rear a progeny.

In France, materialism is the main cause that checks the growth of its population. Before this idea had entered into the minds of the French people, they were among the most fecund nations of the earth. Since their political revolution, in the last century, at which they abandoned their religion, and established the worship of Nature, a large portion of them have been violating its laws, and now they are known for their sterility. The evil of their philosophy is manifesting itself by the absence, of children in the large cities, and of men, in the churches.

Under the British rule till 1750, the Americans had had a great natural increase; but since their republic has been founded their national growth has been principally stimulated by the immigration from

the European monarchies. Some years ago, one, or two, or three, children in a family, were quite fashionable among them; but now the prevailing style, none at all, is quite noticeable. What can be a worse national affliction than that of a state in which people are called ignorant or fools for promoting its true progress?

It is impossible to deny that the spirit of indifference, manifested by the American Constitution towards all creeds and churches though granting them perfect liberty and equality, is producing terrible effects upon the character and the destiny of the nation. In its preface the Constitution alludes to posterity. But were the people of the great republic to depend for it on no other agency than their democracy, how could they ever have any posterity?

The predictions of Elkanah Watson, of New York, in 1815, as to the population of the United States from 1820 to 1900, become very interesting when his estimates are compared with the report of the census at every decade. Up to the year 1850 his prophesy was not only realized, but his figures exceeded the amount of the census for every period of ten years. At the census of 1860 he was short by three hundred and ten thousand and in 1890 by more than fourteen millions, notwithstanding the arrival of about four million three hundred thousand foreigners between the years 1840 and 1860, having three or four million children born to them on the American soil. This was, by far, the greatest influx of immigration into

the United States since the republic was founded. His prophesy for 1900 is a hundred millions, but it is highly improbable that the population will, at that time, exceed eighty millions. Now let democratic or republican educators tell us how much more erroneous would the predictions of Prophet Watson have been, had all those so-called poor and ignorant immigrants adopted the principles of materialism that are so ruinous to some element of the country's population. Can natural philosophers state, meantime, the main reason the population in the New England States is becoming so rapidly composed of French Canadians and Irish, and the ascendancy of foreigners over the natives is gradually increasing in other localities of the republic? A people, led by their education to make it one of the chief points of their life to rear only a few children, or none at all, have nothing to alarm them but their own principles, nor can they reasonably find fault, or expect long to cope for social and political prominence with other nationalities having families of as many as ten and even twenty children. Nothing would be more interesting than the taking of a census of children in the United States, in relation to the number of families, to the various creeds and to nationalities. Nevertheless this is not necessary to enable judicious observers to perceive at once the triumph of religious ideas over Materialism or false knowledge, which is fully ostensible in almost all parts of the country.

Nevertheless there is in the republic a party of

fanatics that cry out: "America for ourselves!" But how could they, in their deplorable sterility, fill America with population? Is it not the foreign elements that keep the nation alive by furnishing it constantly with fresh blood, not only in their passing from their native countries into the United States, but also through the influence of their moral ideas, which stimulate fecundity in the people, and still govern a great many of its naturalized and even native citizens? Are you very certain, Americans, that without their presence and cooperation, you would continue to grow and prosper? Do you really believe that your notions of progress, your education and your mode of civilization in general, would enable you to maintain the numerical superiority of the white race in your country, over the prolific negroes, the Indians, and Asiatic people? Can you foretell how long yet the Caucasian portion of your nation would exist, if your principles were not counteracted by the opposite moral forces set at work by those whom a great many of you seem to hate or despise?

Of all queer individuals none are more ridiculous than those sophists or contributors to periodicals who propose to regulate the population of a country according to its material advantages, and promote and maintain the well-being of individuals by subjecting the laws of Naturalism to caprices. While they ascribe the right number of births both in France and in the United States to wisdom and to deep concern for individual and national interests, they refrain

from telling us why the fewest children are found among the wealthy and irreligious families. They reach the height of their absurdities, when they attempt to dispel the fears of some people that they shall soon be outnumbered by other races, by expressing the hope that all nations will in the near future be brought to imitate them. Perish such feeling! Never may they succeed to influence other nationalities by their own ideas!

That such immoral condition should exist in some of the largest cities of France, although condemnable, is, in a measure, explained by many centuries of high civilization. But that it should pervade the society of a country in its first stage of infancy can only be accounted for by the lack of sound philosophy in the fundamental principles of its government.

By excluding religion from their schools, the Americans have exhibited, as in many other cases, their visionary dispositions for experiments, but no political wisdom. In addition to some of their arguments already refuted, they may, in attempting to justify their laws related to popular education, say that state's concern in religious matters is apt to cause wars, or serious troubles, and for such reasons Church and State had better be kept separate. They might as well assert that civil governments should not be maintained, because they bring wars and other difficulties, and even more frequently than religion; that no bridges, no railroads, no steamers, or no works of any kind, should ever be built, because they cost

a great many lives constantly; that neither gas, steam nor electricity, should ever be used, because they are often fatal to life and property. Their arguments would have but very little weight even if war were the only cause of man's death, because religion, being paramount to any other agency for the promotion of justice and human progress, should receive its due place in the government of a nation. Can we censure religion or the church for having sacrificed to its doctrines a few lives, which according to the law of nature, were soon to be extinguished even in time of perfect indifference or tranquillity? And who can say that materialism has not sacrificed, and is still now not sacrificing more lives to its iniquities than ever did any religious war? There is in religious wars, however so deplorable and so cruel, the strongest evidence of that moral force indispensable to a state. Religious wars have exerted over nations far more benign influences than religious indifference. Their effusion of blood has always increased the fertility of the national soil. The great prosperity of England and of France has followed their religious wars, respectively. Although Church and State are separate in the United States, are the Americans very certain that no bloody conflict shall ever occur between religious denominations or on account of religion, in their country?

Thomas Paine in his, "Rights of Man," says: "The union of Church and State has impoverished Spain. The revoking of the Edict of Nantes drove the silk

manufacture from that country into England, and is now driving the cotton manufacture from England to America and France. Let then Mr. Burke continue to preach his anti-political doctrine of Church and State. It will do some good. The national assembly will not follow his advice, but will benefit by his folly. It was by observing the ill effects of it in England, that America has been warned against it; and it is by experiencing them in France that the national assembly has abolished it, and, like America, has established Universal Right of Conscience and Universal Right of Citizenship."

In this as in all other political questions, the sophist has exhibited but his silly ideas and ignorance. Mr. Burke's advice was sound, but the follies of Thomas Paine and of the National Assembly of France were soon afterwards illustrated by the downfall of the Goddess of Reason, and the restoration of the union of Church and State, in that country.

Glory to nations, of all times, that have sacrificed material interests to principles! Their moral vigor has always rendered them thrifty, philanthropic and munificent, and enabled them to build up nations throughout the world. Moreover, it is those very nations which, after all, have the most cotton, the most silk and the most money. Had mankind depended on the principles of Thomas Paine, of Voltaire, of Rousseau and of Renan, it would almost have entirely disappeared, already.

As materialism encourages lust and produces ster-

ility, so religion stimulates fecundity, and promotes chastity. To the influence of their religion are the Russians, the Germans, the English, the Swedes, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Irish, the French-Canadians, chiefly indebted for their growth, respectively. And it is partly to ignorance, and partly to their religious faith, that the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Indians and the negroes, owe their increase. And in every country it is in its rural districts and among the poorer classes, that the most numerous and most vigorous families are found; and the cities depend upon these sources, principally, not only for support, but for population.

The simple and natural mode of life that exists among the tillers of the soil, the shepherds and the fishermen, accelerates, while the style of splendor, and the dissipation of cities help false knowledge to reduce the growth of the human species.

In some countries religion or ignorance is productive of more human beings than their natural resources can support; and this surplus population goes to strengthen nations, in foreign lands.

Now, materialists or agnostics, who, generally, are so narrow minded that they never believe in anything unless they can put their hands on it, or see it with their physical eyes, are forced to confess, at least, that religion, be it superstition or hallucination, is identical with true progress; that even complete ignorance is far better adapted to a people than their knowledge; and therefore a political constitution,

indifferent towards religion, and a popular system of education devoid of Divine doctrines, are directly opposed to the function of natural laws, to the morals and to the prosperity of a nation.

It is not necessary to be religious or to be endowed with transcendent genius, but it suffices to be only possessed of common sense, to perceive the truth of such theory. The opponents to it are not summoned to appear before the tribunal of any church or religion to receive their condemnation. It is nowhere but on their own ground, and at the feet of their prostrated goddess that the naturalists are called to view the grave of their own principles and of their victims. Who is going to deliver the funeral oration on such solemn occasion? Is it Emile Zola, that sensational writer of France? Is it Crispi, the Ex-Prime Minister of Italy? Is it Mr. Gath of the Cincinnati Enquirer? Is it Mr. Robert Ingersoll, the most devoted admirer of Thomas Paine and of Voltaire? Or is it any conceited, pretentious and brainless individual who villifies all religious ministers, but scruples not to plagiarize their literary or oratorical productions, and publish, or recite, or declaim them as his own? Talent and even genius is not denied to all our adversaries; the sterility of their brains as to sound arguments upon the questions of "Church and State," and Naturalism and Education lies chiefly in the fallacies of their principles.

The more Orthodox a Church, the greater influence it exerts over the morals of a people and stimulates

their growth. The Episcopal and the Lutheran Churches are more powerful than any other Protestant denominations; but the Roman Catholic, the Greek and the Buddhistic religions have the most power, and it is through the Confessional that the two former mostly exercise it. Not only do they always advise their flock to obey the established authority, or compel their penitents to restitute their stealings or repair any wrongs they may confess, but they also question them upon the procreation of children, and, in this case, very effectively employ their theology in forbidding them to frustrate, by the use of Medicine, or by the science of Anatomy, or by any other methods, the laws of nature.

The procreation of children, being the first condition of the existence of a state and the most essential requirement for a nation's vitality, must necessarily be the chief care of the government and the first patriotic duty of men. The country of a growing ignorant people would be far more progressive and far more prosperous than that one in which the population would gradually become annihilated. In a civilized state, religious doctrines alone can inspire men with true patriotism; and evidently, religion, and principally the Orthodox religion is the natural ally of state, the most firm foundation of its government, and the chief promoter of a nation's greatness.

Most of the governments of Europe are about right upon this question.

Can the McKeesport (Pa) "Times" perceive now the

fallacious policy of the American republic in expending \$115,000,000 a year for a system of education energetically working to annihilate the nation?

American educators and philosophers are carried so far away by their political fallacies that they assign, not only the material development, but also the religious sentiments of their people, and even the erection of churches, all their educational establishments and high learning to the principles of their democracy. This erroneous opinion, which is shared by a large portion of the population, is well expressed by the extract of an address delivered by Mr. Charles W. Eliot, a few years ago, and here published:

“A great deal of moral vigor has been put into the material development of the United States; and it is clear that widespread comfort ought to promote the civilizing of a people. Sensible and righteous government ought ultimately to make a nation rich; and although this proposition can not be directly reversed, yet diffused well-being, comfort, and material prosperity establish a fair presumption in favor of the government and the prevailing social conditions under which these blessings have been secured.

“The successful establishment and support of religious institutions—churches, seminaries, and religious charities—upon a purely voluntary system, is an unprecedented achievement of the American democracy. In only three generations American democratic society has effected the complete separation of Church and State, a reform which no other people has ever

attempted. Yet religious institutions are not stinted in the United States; on the contrary, they abound and thrive, and all alike are protected and encouraged, but not supported, by the State. Who has taken up the work which the State has relinquished? Somebody has had to do it, for the work is done. Who provides the money to build churches, pay salaries, conduct missions, and educate ministers? Who supplies the brains for organizing and maintaining these various activities? This is the work, not of a few officials, but of millions of intelligent and devoted men and women scattered through all the villages and cities of the broad land. The maintenance of churches, seminaries, and charities by voluntary contributions and by the administrative labors of volunteers, implies an enormous and incessant expenditure of mental and moral force which must ever be renewed from generation to generation; for it is a personal force, constantly expiring, and as constantly to be replaced. Into the maintenance of the voluntary system in religion has gone a good part of the moral energy which three generations have been able to spare from the work of getting a living; but it is worth the sacrifice, and will be accounted in history one of the most remarkable feats of American public spirit and faith in freedom.

“A similar exhibition of diffused mental and moral energy has accompanied the establishment and the development of a system of higher instruction in the United States, with no inheritance of monastic en-

dowments, and no gifts from royal or ecclesiastical personages disposing of great resources derived from the State, and with but scanty help from the public purse. Whoever is familiar with the colleges and universities of the United States knows that the creation of these democratic institutions has cost the life-work of thousands of devoted men. At the sacrifice of other aspirations, and under heavy discouragements and disappointments, but with faith and hope, these teachers and trustees have built up institutions, which however imperfect, have cherished scientific enthusiasm, fostered piety, literature, and art, maintained the standards of honor and public duty, and steadily kept in view the ethical ideals which democracy cherishes. It has been a popular work, to which large numbers of people in successive generations have contributed of their substance or of their labor. The endowment of institutions of education, including libraries and museums, by private persons in the United States is a phenomenon without precedent or parallel, and is legitimate effect of democratic institutions. Under a tyranny—were it that of a Marcus Aurelius—or an oligarchy—were it as enlightened as that which now rules Germany—such a phenomenon would be 'simply impossible. The university of Strasburg was lately established by an imperial decree, and is chiefly maintained out of the revenue of the State. Harvard University has been two hundred and fifty years in growing to its present stature, and is even now inferior in many points to the new Uni-

versity of Strasburg; but Harvard is the creation of thousands of persons, living and dead, rich and poor, learned and simple, who have voluntarily given in their time, thought, or money, and lavished upon it their affection; Strasburg exists by the mandate of the ruling few directing upon it a part of the product of ordinary taxation. Like the voluntary system in religion, the voluntary system in the higher education buttresses democracy; each demands from the community a large outlay of intellectual activity and moral vigor."

How can Mr. Eliot reasonably assert that the establishment and support of religious institutions and high education, upon a voluntary system, in the United States, are the effects of its democratic institutions? How is it possible that a political constitution could achieve what it had entirely ignored in the beginning? No class of people, except materialists or agnostics, can receive their inspirations from the principles of a government that fails to recognize the existence of a Supreme Being. And this is what probably leads Mr. Elliot to consider it an act of magnanimity on the part of a materialistic government, to tolerate the practice of any religion, as well as it allows or encourages all kinds of abuses and vices in society.

While Mr. Eliot characterizes the religious achievements of the country as democratic phenomena without precedent or parallel, he is impelled to go back to Pagan Rome to find a comparison favorable to his

fancy; and upon his return he finds that no such wonders could be possible in Germany. How does he know that? Like all writers or speakers of his class, he makes assertions without proofs, but says nothing of the religious devotion and munificence of people in other countries. He seems to believe, or is disposed to impress the public with the idea that in no country but the United States, have any people the privilege to remain outside of the Church. Besides why should not a government have the same right to impose taxes upon the people for the support of Churches or moral institutions, as for the maintenance of such public schools as those of the United States against the will of a large portion of the nation? What has built up St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, St. Paul's Church in London, the Cologne Cathedral, and almost all those other magnificent temples or churches, convents, religious schools, hospitals, public libraries, throughout the world, if not philanthropy, religious devotion and charity?

The establishment of religions and churches, in the United States, is merely owing to the fact that no people have ever existed or can exist without them, despite any political constitution; and the liberality of a portion of the population towards religion and benevolent institutions, has been inspired, first, by European doctrines, and afterwards, maintained and fostered by the variety of creeds.

It is true, as Mr. Eliot says, that in only three generations, the American democracy has effected the

complete separation of Church and State; and he calls this a reform which no other people have ever attempted. But now, can Mr. Eliot tell us why it is, that in the United States, a country unsurpassed for wealth and natural advantages, and also for pretensions to virtue and intelligence, vices and crime are growing far more than in any other where Church and State are united? Evidently, it is religion alone that furnishes the population sufficient moral vigor to resist the influences of a sophistical constitution.

Let Mr. Eliot and his admirers consider this: Religion and Materialism, High Education and Bad Education, Fecundity and Infecundity, Justice and Injustice, Order and Lawlessness, can no more flow from the same institution, than poison and pure water from one source.

An able political writer may be a very unwise statesman and even a very poor politician; but statesmen must be philosophers, although they may deem it more safe to speak or write but little. The statesmen of both Germany and Italy have it in their power to strengthen the base of their political edifice, respectively, by profiting from the errors of some nations and from the wisdom of others. They must have learned at home, by this time, that some of the educatory ideas of the nineteenth century may be productive of considerable mischief to a state; that it is prudent not to antagonize the religious school, and wise to discourage, and even vigorously oppose,

among the people, a great increase of desires and a régime of extravagancies. Statesmen should earnestly work to avert or suppress the diffusion of that kind of learning, which renders a people unwise and conceited, and qualifies a large number of individuals but to annoy society constantly by defying the religious and civil authorities alike.

RECAPITULATION OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

During forty centuries of civil governments, tracing the history of nations only as far back as its most authentic records authorize it, not a hundred years of tolerable democracy can be said to have been enjoyed by all the republics of the earth, combined.

We have seen the monarchies of ancient Egypt and Asia giving the world the first principles of politics, industry, art and science, and the first republics availing themselves of these advantages.

The government of Sparta was not a democracy, nor even a purely aristocratical republic, as its chief-magistrates were kings, occupying their throne perpetually.

About the year 504, immediately before the Medic wars, the Athenians set aside the government of Pisistratus and inaugurated the Constitution of Solon. It was not, at first, entirely democratical, but afterwards party leaders remodeled it to increase their popularity among the masses; and the government of

Athens remained democratic in form, till 335 B. C. In that period the Athenian Commonwealth, although its population at no time exceeded 32,000, had enjoyed but twenty-nine years of peace and prosperity, which formed the most of the brilliant reign of Pericles. Nevertheless, the Athenians proved unworthy even of that short régime of republicanism; as industrial development, art and education, brought them that state of affairs which was to be the chief cause of their woes.

At last all the Grecian republics, through their civil dissensions, wars and corruption, were conquered by Philip, and for saving themselves from further civil troubles and foreign domination, implored King Alexander to lead their destinies. Upon his death they revolted against monarchy, and returned to republicanism and dissensions, only to find themselves subjected to the power of Rome.

The Roman republic was founded in the year 510 and fell in 30 B. C. At first it was not democratical, but aristocratical, as the patricians only could participate in the government; nor was it till 366 that the plebeians were admitted to the consulate. From the beginning the Romans were split in civil dissensions. They afterwards became united to carry on war successfully against their neighbors, to liberate themselves from the Gauls, and conquer Carthage, Greece and parts of Asia. It is known that the return of peace, high civilization, and the rise of wealth and poverty, put an end to the régime of democracy,

which, so far, had been maintained only by the state of agriculture, wars, and the dictatorship of consuls or generals.

The appearance of the Gracchi on the political stage in 133 B. C., was the first step towards the downfall of the Commonwealth. After a long reign of dissensions, upheavals, civil wars, and discussions of plans of reforms, the Romans find that their democratical Constitution, being incompatible with an advanced state of civilization, is the source of their calamities, and consequently, take refuge into monarchy, to live in repose, and develop, under the protection of a government, industry and all branches of learning.

The republic of Carthage was no democracy, but a properly so-called Oligarchy.

The Italian republics that established themselves upon the ruins of the Roman empire, were no democracies. They fared well enough in their new primitive state, but afterwards became incapable of bearing the weight of returning civilization.

Both the Venetian and the Dutch republics were purely aristocratical.

The English commonwealth of the seventeenth, and the French republic, of the eighteenth century, it is well known, were complete failures, which had to be replaced by monarchy.

The present republic of France is not democratic in form, but far more resembles a constitutional monarchy than the American government. Never-

theless, it has not existed long enough, yet, to prove its ability to govern the nation. If we have to judge its merits from the past, it can hardly rank among the successful governments. One thing is certain, a great many of its prominent citizens prefer it to a monarchy merely because they see in it greater opportunities for dishonest schemes. The Panama affair has furnished a wonderfully surprising evidence of this assertion.

It is equally true that none of the South-American republics has any ground upon which it can justly rest a claim to competency for democracy. Their civil troubles and continual state of insecurity are but the effects of their weak government

The long duration of the Swiss republic is often cited by the Americans and the French as an argument in support of their idea that democracy is a possibility for most nations. Let it be supposed that all its institutions be similar, in all their details to those of the United States, can a form of government in a country of two or three million inhabitants be reasonably offered as a model constitution for a great nation? Besides, they seem to ignore that the political system of that republic is entirely different from that of the American Commonwealth, and in reality is no democracy. In Switzerland, the president is elected annually by the two chambers on a joint ballot. The judges and some other public officials are elected by the people, and their election must be confirmed by the government; and these as

well as all employees in the public service occupy their position perpetually, on good behavior. Moreover, any magistrate, and even the president himself, may, at any time, be removed from office, upon the presentation of the signatures of a certain number of citizens. This system, though far better than that of the United States, and impracticable in a large and populous country, is still productive of considerable corruption in the Swiss confederacy.

It is known that the republic of Rome found it an easier task to conquer the world than to govern it. The American democracy has no world to govern, but it could certainly sooner conquer it than manage its present population of sixty-six millions, decently.

The republic of Mexico is constituted almost entirely on the model of the American democracy. Ever since 1823, the time at which the Mexicans became independent of Spain, the country has been disturbed by internal dissensions. Mexico covers an area of about seven hundred and sixty-four thousand square miles, and has a population of no more than ten millions, a density of only thirteen to the mile, and its natural resources are not excelled by any other country. With such advantages, the Mexicans, like the Americans, may succeed to preserve for many more years their form of government.

Brazil could not have committed a greater error than to give up the government of Dom Pedro for a republic. The time may soon come when in that country, as well as in all other American republics,

lynching or other such lawlessness will be introduced. Greece has just now substituted a kind of a democracy to its constitutional monarchy. The moment is fast approaching when this little nation, of ancient renown for turbulence and political nonsense, will, for its own good, be annexed by a great power lying not far from her.

Monarchies live and die out, like republics, because they are human institutions; but there is this vast difference between them: If the former have been productive of many wrongs, they have also performed nearly all the good on earth. On the other hand, the latter have, practically, achieved very little but the most deplorable evils, for mankind. If at different times, republicans have suggested wise ideas for reforms, the republic has ever failed in the attempt to carry them out, and monarchy of any form proved equal to that task. As it has already been said; pills are excellent things for purification, but very bad food for nations, as well as individuals, to live upon. Nothing is more clearly demonstrated than that democracy, or the so-called government by the people, is against the interest of the people, and monarchy, or the government of a few, for the people.

Any of the European and Asiatic monarchies can govern nations of several hundred millions, far better than the American democracy manages its population, or the republic of Switzerland, only three millions. Nor do they ever impute to their resident foreigners, the commission of all crimes. Not more than two hun-

dred million people are now living under republics, and of this number, only seventy-six million live under democracies, while twelve hundred million are governed by monarchies, and most of them, by absolutism. And what man of any little knowledge will venture to say that there is not a great deal more knowledge throughout the world, in this age, than at the times of the ancient Greek and Roman republics?

The greatest danger of absolutism in the past ages has been the over-zeal of the monarch to aggrandize his empire. When his projects of conquest failed, his people suffered accordingly as his greatness decreased; but on the other hand, their prosperity increased with his success. Personal ambition, in a monarchy, is generally productive of a great deal of good, because it can not but be directed towards the welfare of the nation; it is another thing in a republic, it is dangerous because selfish motives under this form of government are not identical with the general interests of the country.

The political strifes and civil wars, in republics, have caused much more injury than wars of succession such as that between the Lancaster and the York families, of the fifteenth century, in England, known as the war of the two Roses, and even the war of succession to the throne of Spain.

Absolutism may be sometimes despotic but can never equal a corrupt democracy for mischief. Although the virtue of the prince can not always be depended upon, he has in his power the opportunity

of excelling the constitutional monarchy, at least for benevolence, if not for administrative purity, because his will is not limited by any law. In all ages have existed a large number of absolute Sovereigns, who have constantly endeavored to promote the interests of their subjects. And of that order, in the Christian era can be cited Alfred, Charlemagne, Louis IX, Henry IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, Louis XVI, almost all German rulers, the Czars of the Romanoff Family, especially Alexander II, and the present ruler of Russia, Alexander III.

Monarchies have always built up and civilized, and will continue to build up and civilize nations.

The incompetency of democracy for government is proven by one sentence: The most important function of a government is the administering of justice; democracy fails to administer justice, therefore democracy is not adapted for the government of nations.

DIVINE RIGHT OF MONARCHY.

A great deal can be written upon the subject of the "Divine Right of Monarchy;" but a single syllogism is sufficient to establish the truth of this principle: The form of government which best administers justice, is of Divine Right; monarchy is that which best administers justice, therefore monarchy is of Divine Right.

FUTURE GREATNESS OF THE AMERICAN
NATION.

It is impossible to admit that monarchy, of any grade, although, by far, the best adapted to the government of nations, could be, now, established in the United States of America. Americans often say that the nations of Europe are not all ripe yet for democracy. This is an error. The time for republicanism, in Europe, passed away when the tillers of the soil yielded their political power to the more educated classes, when Rome had achieved its conquests, when land became scarce, when the Gracchi rose to prominence and inaugurated civil troubles. That was a very long time ago. It is the American people that are not yet ready for monarchy, were it only for the reason that their country is still in a state of infancy. Besides, nothing is more difficult than to dispel old prejudices or false notions of liberty, deeply rooted in the minds of a nation, and lead them to voluntarily accept the rule of a restraining power, after being allowed long to refrain from duty, or abhor from obedience to the laws or from respect to any authority. The American government may, to the delight of professional politicians, demagogues and ignorants, retain its democratic form for another long period; but the time for the people clamoring even louder for restraint and a radical change in their political constitution, than now, for liberties and reforms, shall come long before they commence feeling the scarcity of land, considering

that their republic is far more advanced in civilization, and much sooner became corrupt than the ancient democracies.

It is an easy task to devise forms of government, admirable in theory; but would it not be wiser to adopt as model the most successful and beneficial monarchies of the earth, than to continue subjecting a nation to an iniquitous régime or to the trials of other new and dangerous experiments. A political revolution could be easily accomplished, were the masses educated to reverse their feelings in favor of their country's interest. It is not nobility, nor a royal family, nor a king, but justice and order that is chiefly wanted by a people. Nevertheless, should such a régime not be attainable without the head of the government developing into nobility and even royalty, would it not be most unjust or unwise that a portion of the population should weigh their feelings of jealousy and envy against its establishment? Die out such contemptible sentiments! May they forever cease to animate the souls of any people and jeopardise the future greatness of the nation!

Under a monarchy if one wishes to be democratic he has many opportunities to exercise his civic virtues and even make such sacrifices as are required by democracy; and he is free to enter any career suitable to his fancy, his talent and genius. But he can not hope to exercise the freedom of his caprices by infringing upon other men's rights, with impunity.

A republic, like that of France, confining elec-

tions to those of legislators and presidents is a great improvement upon the democracy of the United States; but the political experience of all the greatest nations of the world offers the American people the following ideas for a sound Constitution:

One Law and one Government for the entire country; a Chief-Magistrate appointed or elected perpetually, and hereditarily proclaimed in his family. No Vice-Roys or Governors are advisable, except in remote colonies. All public servants and more particularly the judges and other officials of law-courts, should be emancipated from political servitude and hold office for their life time and retain it so long as they remain qualified for the position. In a constitutional monarchy the deputies should be elected for a term of at least three, or even five or six years; the senators for a longer term and some of them could remain in office perpetually.

The political constitution should rest upon the existence of a Supreme Being, and although allowing religious freedom and compelling no one to embrace any form of worship, it should forbid any individual to publicly deny or ridicule the existence of a Supernatural state. It should also give religion ascendancy over materialism or agnosticism by directly aiding the principal churches, and entrusting them with the fundamental education of the people, without, however, suppressing the establishment of any good secular schools. The union of Religion and Philosophy, of Church and State, would necessarily produce

the same salutary results, in America, as in Europe and in China. The authority would be no longer defied. Veracity could be more depended upon. The laxity of the laws, the growth of crime, lynching and barbarism would cease. Mutual confidence, and the preservation of popular and individual rights, would be restored.

To promote the equalization of the distribution of wealth among the masses, and to extend more protection to all classes alike, the banking system, the telegraphs, and the railroads should be controlled by the government. To check the rise of dangerous factions, the government and the churches should be the only benevolent institutions. Instead of imitating the narrow policy of the ancient Greeks by restricting immigration, they would invite the proletariat of every European nation to settle in their vast country, for both natives and foreigners would far better behave, and become far more useful to the state, in the practice of agriculture or of any industrial branch than in the profession of politics.

Evidently, the great material resources of the country combined with such a system of government, could not fail to build up, on the American soil, one of the mightiest and happiest nations of the world.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE WORLD.

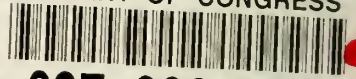
Much more remains to be said upon the politics of nations; but for the present the case is rested. Now,

republicans, whether you approve, or have any desire to contradict the statements, or upset the theories and arguments of this work, act fearlessly and with dignity. If you are philosophers, discuss logically. If you only have pretensions or aspirations to philosophy, plagiarize all you wish; but before publishing, submit your writings to the approbation of logicians, that they may determine their merit by the rule of syllogism. Give your readers something plain and rational. Do not bluster, or wander from the subject, or act the part of literary fops by arranging high-sounding phrases, agreeable only to the ignorant's taste and devoid of sense. Cease to work upon the minds, with the bombastic words of "The government of the people, by the people, and for the people, freedom and liberty," and the like. Creep not like insects, and swell not to rise above all mortals, lest you are brought flat to the earth.

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THE END



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